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THE

EARLY RACES OF SCOTLAND

AND THEIR MONUMENTS

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Bridge of Brogar.
Remains of Small Circle.
Tumulus & Large Circle of Stenness called Ring of Brogar.
Tumulus opened by M.r Farrar.

THE LOCHS OF STENNES AND HARRAY, ORKNEY.

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THE

EARLY RACES OF SCOTLAND

AND THEIR MONUMENTS

BY

LIEUT.-COL. FORBES LESLIE

MENHIR OF KERLOAZ.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH: EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS.

MDCCCLXVI

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAPTER XI.

PAGE

EARTH-FAST STONES—NATURAL ALTARS—DOLMENS . . 269

CHAPTER XII.

PERFORATED STONES—EARTH TUNNELS—SACRED CREVICES IN AND UNDER ROCKS, AND ARTIFICIAL MONUMENTS . . 293

CHAPTER XIII.

CAIRNS AND BARROWS 321

CHAPTER XIV.

STRONGHOLDS OF THE CALEDONIANS 342

CHAPTER XV.

SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND WITH HEATHEN EMBLEMS—CALEDONIAN HIEROGLYPHICS 359

CHAPTER XVI.

ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS 383

CHAPTER XVII.

PAGE

SCULPTURED HIEROGLYPHICS—EMBLEMS OF PLANETARY WORSHIP 397

CHAPTER XVIII.

SCULPTURED HIEROGLYPHICS 421

CHAPTER XIX.

SIMILAR PRIMITIVE MONUMENTS FOUND IN THE INDIAN PENINSULA, WESTERN EUROPE, AND INTERMEDIATE COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA 451

CHAPTER XX.

CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS COMMON TO THE INHABITANTS OF CENTRAL ASIA AND WESTERN EUROPE . . . 482

LIST OF PLATES.

VOLUME II.

Plate		
	View of Stennis, Orkney	*Frontispiece.*
	Pillar at Kerloaz—*Woodcut*	*Title-Page.*
XXVI.	View of Earth-fast Stones—Natural Altars	*Page* 269
XXVII.	Plan of Kits-Coty-House, Kent	274
XXVIII.	View of Kits-Coty-House, Kent	275
XXIX.	View of Dolmen at Kilternan	277
XXX.	View of Dolmen at Loc-Maria-Ker	281
XXXI.	Kistvaen with Circular Aperture ; and cell formed of four slabs	291
XXXII.	Auld Wives' Lift, Craigmaddie, Stirlingshire	293
XXXIII.	View of Adam's Peak, Ceylon	310
XXXIV.	View of the summit, and Plan of Sacred Footstep	311
XXXV.	View of Tumulus on the Plain of Carnac	328
XXXVI.	View of Tumulus of New Grange	334
XXXVII.	View of Entrance to New Grange	335
XXXVIII.	View of Gavr-Innis	336
XXXIX.	View of Entrance to Tumulus of Gavr-Innis	337
XL.	Plan of Chamber and Gallery at Maeshow, Orkney	340
XLI.	View of Hill Fortress, Malvern Hills	342
XLII.	View of Fortress on Top of Noath	344
XLIII.	View of Pict's House, Orkney	348
XLIV.	Monument at Deir	373

Plate		Page
XLV.	View of Rock of Dinnacair	375
XLVI.	Inscription on the Newton Stone	383
XLVII.	Sculptured Stone at Kinellar, Aberdeenshire	388
XLVIII.	Double Disc and Sceptre	397
XLIX.	View of Stone at Killiney, supposed to represent the Double Disc	399
L.	Crescent and Sceptre	403
LI.	Serpent, Serpent and Sceptre, Elephant	407
LII.	Double Disc, with Serpent and Sceptre	411
LIII.	Fire-Altar, Fire-Altar and Bird	417
LIV.	Horse-Shoe figure, Fish	423
LV.	Mirror, Mirror-Case, Comb, Comb-Case, Book	430
LVI.	Horse, Bull, Boar, etc.	433
LVII.	Sculptures of a different type, from rocks in Northumberland	448
LVIII.	View of a Group of Stone Circles in India	459
LIX.	View of Circular Fane in India	461
LX.	View of another Fane in India	464

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

VOLUME II.

FRONTISPIECE. View of Stennis, Orkney, showing the Monuments existing on the Peninsula between the Lochs of Stennis and Harray ; also the Tumulus of Maeshow. By the Author in 1861. See Plates VIII. and XL.

TITLE-PAGE. Pillar at Kerloaz, Finisterre, Brittany.

PLATE XXVI. Earth-fast Stones ; Natural Altars. From Borlase's *Cornwall*, P. 269.

PLATE XXVII. Plan of Kit's-Coty-House, Kent. See Plate XXVIII. p. 274.

PLATE XXVIII. View of Kit's-Coty-House. See Plate XXVII. P. 275.

PLATE XXIX. View of Dolmen at Kilternan, county of Dublin. By the Author in 1861. P. 277.

PLATE XXX. View of Dolmen at Loc-Maria-Ker. By the Author in 1857. P. 281.

PLATE XXXI. Kistvaen, with Circular Aperture ; and cell formed of four slabs ; in the Dekhan, India. P. 291.

PLATE XXXII. Dolmen, "Auld Wives' Lift," Craigmaddie, Stirlingshire. P. 293.

PLATE XXXIII. View of Adam's Peak in Ceylon ; taken in 1826 ; height 7420 feet. See Plate XXXIV. p. 310.

PLATE XXXIV. View, summit of Adam's Peak, and Plan showing the Sacred Footstep, from drawings made in 1826. See Plate XXXIII. p. 311.

PLATE XXXV. View of Tumulus with Pillar, on the Plain of Carnac, in Brittany. See p. 328.

PLATE XXXVI. View of Tumulus at New Grange, County of Meath ; taken in 1861. See Plate XXXVII. and p. 334.

PLATE XXXVII. View of Entrance to Tumulus of New Grange, 1861. See p. 335.

PLATE XXXVIII. View of Gavr-Innis, in the Morbihan Sea. On the summit of the island is a large Tumulus. See Plate XXXIX. and p. 336.

PLATE XXXIX. View of Entrance to Tumulus on Gavr-Innis. See Plate XXXVIII. p. 337.

PLATE XL. Plan of the Chamber and Gallery in the Tumulus of Maeshow. From the work of J. Farrar, Esq. ; printed for private circulation in 1862. The Tumulus of Maeshow appears in the Frontispiece to Vol. II. p. 340.

PLATE XLI. View of British Fortress on the Malvern Hills, from Eastnor Park. P. 342.

PLATE XLII. View of Caledonian Fortress, Top-of-Noath. There are great masses of vitrified materials in the upper rampart of this fort. P. 344.

PLATE XLIII. View of a Pict's House in the island of Burray, Orkney. P. 348.

PLATE XLIV. The Sculptured Stone at Deir is an example of a stone with heathen emblems, partly Christianised by cutting a rude cross on the opposite side. Deir was one of the early Christian establishments, and the *Book of Deir*, one of the oldest Celtic manuscripts, is now about to be published, edited by Joseph Robertson, Esq., LL.D. See p. 373.

PLATE XLV. View of the Rock of Dinnacair, Kincardineshire, on which several stones with heathen sculptures were found. See p. 375.

PLATE XLVI. Inscription on the Newton Stone. The character is unique ; and various translations of it have appeared from gentlemen who differ as to the language of the inscription. There is also an inscription in Ogham characters on the edge of the stone. See p. 383.

PLATE XLVII. Sculptured Stone at Kinellar, Aberdeenshire. In the angle beneath the crescent there is a figure the same as one of the letters in the Newton inscription. Kinellar is within ten miles of the original site of the Newton Stone. See p. 388.

PLATE XLVIII. *Double Disc and Sceptre;* showing some of the various positions in which this figure appears on the sculptured stones of Scotland. See p. 397.

PLATE XLIX. View of a stone at Killiney, in the county of Dublin, which seems intended to represent a double disc. Taken by the Author in 1861. See p. 399.

PLATE L. *Crescent and Sceptre,* in some of the various positions in which it appears on the sculptured stones. In one of the crescents (XII.) there is a circle having its circumference cut into by the arc of another circle, as if to represent an eclipse. A somewhat similar case appears in a double disc (Plate LII.) See p. 403.

PLATE LI. *Serpent, Serpent and Sceptre, the Elephant.* See p. 407.

PLATE LII. 1. (XXXVII.) *Double Disc, and Serpent and Sceptre,* on a stone at Newton in Aberdeenshire; and 2. (XCVII.) *The Double Disc and Sceptre,* and a strange composite figure. In the first, one of the circles is cut into by the arc of another circle, as if to represent an eclipse (see description of Plate L.); in the second sculpture, which is on a rock at Anwoth in Galloway, the double disc retains the sceptre, and has its circumference complete. But although in a much ruder form, there is considerable similarity of design between this and the first-mentioned sculpture. See p. 411.

PLATE LIII. *Fire-Altars and Sceptre of various forms.* Fire-altars are already referred to in Plate I. See p. 417.

PLATE LIV. *Horse-shoe Arches and Fish.* The horse-shoe arch is here represented in various forms of progress from the simple arch to the ornamented horse-shoe. This figure is already noticed in Plate I. See p. 423.

The fish, on the contrary, is shown in progress from a mythological monster to a well-shaped fish. On a rock in a cave at East Wemyss the fish is represented upright. See p. 423.

PLATE LV. *Mirrors, Combs, and Books, in various forms.* These emblems are already noticed in Plate I. See p. 430.

PLATE LVI. Various forms of figures already noticed. See p. 433.

PLATE LVII. Sculptures from Northumbrian rocks, and a double disc from a sculpture at Dyce, Aberdeenshire, in the circles of which some of the Northumbrian figures are enclosed. The Northumbrian figures are taken from a tract by Geo. Tate, F.G.S.—*The Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland.* See p. 448.

PLATE LVIII. View of a group of stone circles near Poonah in India. These primitive fanes are very numerous on the western side of India, and are arranged for the worship of Vital or Bital. Taken in 1846. See p. 459.

PLATE LIX. View of a Circular Fane at Andlee in the Dekhan. Taken in 1847. See p. 461.

PLATE LX. View of a Fane near Belgaum in the Dekhan. Taken in 1847. See p. 464.

At Mouelez, Hill of Karn, Cornwall.

At Trescaw, Scilly.

CHAPTER XI.

EARTH-FAST STONES—NATURAL ALTARS—DOLMENS.

Dolmens—Table-stones—Altars of the Druids in Anglesea ; of the Celts and Gauls near Marseilles—Stone Cells, Kits-Cotty House—Dolmens on bare Rocks ; over Fountains—Arrangement and Erection of rude Altars noticed in Sacred History—Dolmens at Loc-Maria-Ker ; at Saumur ; at Antiquera ; at Craigmadden—Kistvaens of peculiar Construction.

THAT certain "earth-fast stones" were held in peculiar sanctity in all parts of Britain prior to the introduction of Christianity must be inferred from the denunciations of them by early Christian authorities. Under the name of superstition, in forms of divination not yet extinct, "earth-fast stones" are believed to possess inherent virtues. By those who called supernatural aid to assist them in discovering future events it was of primary importance that they should place themselves on "earth-fast stones."[1] These rocks were probably the earliest of our heathen altars, and may still be found surrounded by circles of stones in the Scilly Isles and Cornwall, as well as in North Britain. Among many which might be noticed as places made sacred from "earth-fast stones" are Trescaw in Scilly ; Menelez in Cornwall ;

[1] A notice of these ceremonies will be found under the head of "Worship of the Moon."

Anwoth in Galloway ; "Tamnaverie, or the Hill of Worship," in Aberdeenshire ; The Rock, and its rocking-stone, in Kirkmichael parish in Forfarshire ; etc. etc.

Following the nomenclature of the inhabitants of Brittany and the writers who have treated of the Celtic antiquities of that country, the word Dolmen[1] is here used for that description of monument which in Britain is usually called a Cromlech. Taul, Daul or Dol, signifying a table, and Maen, a stone, forms an expression equally intelligible and explanatory of the form of these heathen altars. On the contrary, the various explanations given by English authors of the word Cromlech appear eminently unsatisfactory ; and Cromlech seems only properly applicable to the circular fane which is so called in Brittany.

In another chapter it has been noticed that the dolmen or altar of the ordinary circular fanes, such as abound in Scotland, is a stone of the largest size placed in the circumference of the area, where it rests on the ground horizontally. Pitched at each end, and slightly inclining over it, are the two highest of the columnar stones that define the circle.[2]

The largest and most remarkable dolmens, however, are not found in the circumference of circular fanes, but are

1 Dolmen, Table de Pierre.—Souvestre's *Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. p. 106.

"Les dolmens sont des pierres longues et larges qui sont placées horizontalement sur des pierres verticales." — Fremenville's *Monumens Anciens Finistere*, p. 61.

Both Fremenville and Souvestre consider them altars for sacrifice.

In Gaelic, Dail is any flat or level ; in Welsh the word takes the form of Doll.

2 Under the head of "Cromlechs, or Circular Columnar Fanes."

sometimes placed within and sometimes outside the enclosure. In some cases the absence of other Cyclopean remains, with vestiges of forest trees around, renders it probable that these dolmens stood within the sacred groves, and were the altars on which the Druids offered up their sacrifices. The peculiar characteristics of these great dolmens are the tabular masses raised some distance above the ground, and resting horizontally, or sometimes with a gentle slope, upon detached columnar blocks of stone. Whether this slope, which appears in many instances, is accidental, arising from the subsidence of the stones on which the dolmen is supported, or whether the inclination was originally intended, seems doubtful. Possibly some have been so placed, and others have sunk into their inclined position.

The dolmen has a well-defined distinction from the kistvaen. In the dolmen the vertical supporters of the tabular stone are columnar, and the space beneath it is never entirely closed. In the kistvaen the vertical supports are slabs, as perfectly joined together as the rudeness of the materials will permit, thus forming, with the horizontal roof-stone, a "stone chest," which is the signification of Kistvaen in the Celtic languages.

There is a sufficient amount of evidence to warrant the conclusion that many, if not all, of the larger dolmens were intended as altars for sacrifice, although occasionally they are found to have been used for purposes of sepulture ; and that, on the contrary, the more ordinary form of kistvaens were designed as places of sepulture, but occasionally served as altars for sacrifice.

The brief but graphic account by Tacitus of the attack on the Britons in Anglesea by the Romans under Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61, includes many important details. We there see females—Druidesses it may be presumed—in dark funereal garments, with dishevelled hair and flaming torches, rushing like furies along the British ranks, while the Druids, with hands stretched towards heaven, stood by uttering fervent prayers and dreadful imprecations. The Britons, unable to withstand the attack of the Romans, were defeated, and suffered in the fires which they themselves had prepared. The groves, consecrated to cruel superstitions, were cut down; for it had been the practice to sacrifice on the *altars*[1] prisoners taken in war, and by examining the entrails of the victims to divine the will of the gods.[2] It will be perceived that although the historian notices that the groves were cut down, he does not say that the altars were destroyed; and notwithstanding that numbers have been demolished in later times, a modern traveller states that twenty-eight cromlechs (or dolmens) are still to be found in the island of Anglesea.[3]

In the description in Lucan's *Pharsalia*[4] of the altars and grove near Marseilles, where every tree was stained with human blood, we find another proof that the sacred groves of

[1] Further historical notices of heathen altars in use at the period of the introduction of Christianity into Britain will be found in the chapter on "Circular Fanes as places of Worship."

[2] Tacitus, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 38. Diodorus Siculus and Strabo say that it was by the palpitations of their dying victims that the Druids augured of coming events.—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 104.

[3] Thorne, *The Land we Live in*, vol. iv. p. 356.

[4] Lucan's *Pharsalia*, b. iii.

the Celts shadowed their altars of sacrifice.[1] Although there is thus direct testimony to the fact, it might without this have been presumed that a priesthood like the Druids, who officiated at all sacrifices, would not have been without altars. Moreover, there is conclusive evidence that if the Celts did not erect, they certainly occupied as places of worship those primitive stone monuments the cromlechs[2]—circular columnar fanes, of which altars or dolmens were a component part, whether placed in the circumference or within or without the circle.

In Britain it has of late been generally regarded as sufficiently proved that dolmens, under the name of cromlechs, are in their origin exclusively sepulchral. That many of these monuments have been *occupied* as repositories of the dead cannot be disputed; that some were erected for that purpose may be admitted; that all of them were so, and that no altars exclusively intended for heathen sacrifice are to be

[1] Lucan also says that when Cæsar caused this dismal grove, consecrated to the most cruel rites, to be destroyed, the nations of the Gauls lamented. Pliny, quoting Cato, states that the Cenomanni dwelt among the Volsæ in the vicinity of Massila, or Marseilles. The Cenomanni were a Celtic tribe whose most important branch had Mans for its chief town.

In the wall, and rising from the foundation of the cathedral at Mans, is a great stone, said to be part of a primitive Celtic monolithic fane.

The Ligurians—who occupied so much of the neighbouring country, and seem to have been the earliest inhabitants in and around Massila at the dawn of history—if they were not Celts, or of Celtic origin, as many authorities appear to sanction, were, even according to Strabo, who asserts the contrary, a race having the same habits as the Celts.—See various authorities regarding the Ligurians in the *Histoire des Celtes*, par S. Pelloutier, pp. 155-158, 182, 183, edit. M. De Chiniac, Paris 1770.

From Diodorus Siculus, book v. chap. ii., it would appear that the inhabitants of the country around Marseilles were Celts.

[2] See chapter on "Circular Columnar Fanes or Cromlechs."

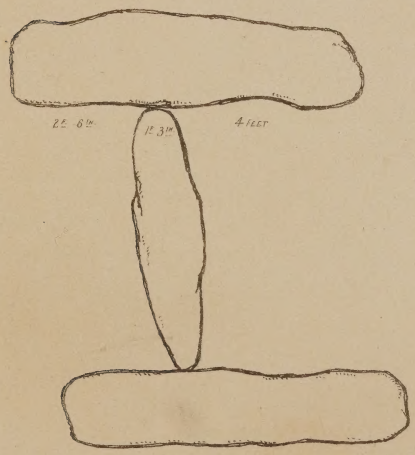
found, may confidently be denied. What were the "*earth-fast stones*,"[1] and stones for demon-worship, denounced by the early Christian authorities, and in some remote districts still connected with unhallowed ceremonies of divination? For what purpose were peculiar shaped immovable rocks, which could never be tombs, surrounded by trenches and outer circles defined by separate rude stones, as they are found in the Dekhan of India as well as in Britain?[2] What was the purpose, if it was not sacrifice, of the principal group in the columnar stone circles—the huge recumbent stone, with its rude erect pillar at each end, often forming part of the circle.

There is a form of monument which, although it has no separate name, yet appears to have marked points of difference both from the kistvaen and from the dolmen. It is classed with, or rather is not distinguished from, the latter by Breton and English antiquaries, and may therefore be noticed in this chapter. These monuments are open on one side, but otherwise so far resemble the kistvaen as to have the other sides closed and the top covered. But they differ both from the kistvaen and from the dolmen in having—at least the largest of them—been divided into two or even into three cells. From their form the table-stone that covers them may have been used for sacrifice, and the divisions below as sanctuaries for idols, cells for devotees, or receptacles of the

[1] See also on "Earth-fast Stones" in chapter on the "Worship of the Moon."

[2] See in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* Captain Congreve on "Druidical Remains on the Nilgheri Hills." See also "Notices of Scytho-Druidical Remains in Southern India," by Captain Meadows Taylor, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*, January 1853.

Side Elevation



(Plan)

Kits-Coty-House, Kent.

Kits-Coty-House, Kent.

H. Delamotte Forbes Leake. Delt.

Bourne & Gibb. Printers. Aberdeen.

sacrificial instruments or rich offerings[1] belonging to the temple. Although common in India and Brittany, there probably is no better example in Britain of the larger class of these monuments than Kits-Coty-House in Kent, although it is imperfect. In Brittany those of larger size have been divided into two and some of them into three divisions. The remains of the partitions show them to have been single slabs.[2]

It had often been advanced as an opinion, and of late has not uncommonly been assumed as a fact, that the dolmen, under the name of cromlech, was not only occasionally used but was also designed as a sepulchral monument. In considering the primary object for which the circular fanes were erected, the supposition that they were intended as places of sepulture has been combated.[3] And as regards the dolmen such a conclusion appears unwarranted by the evidence on which it is founded; the principal reasons urged in both cases being the same—viz. that funereal deposits are commonly found beneath or contiguous to such monuments, and also that occasionally two or more dolmens, as is the case with circular fanes, are found in the same group. In another

[1] From Cæsar and other ancient authorities we know that the valuable offerings in the Druid temples were left exposed, protected only by the superstitious dread of the people for the sanctity of the place (possibly also for the power of the Druids), although that is not mentioned.

[2] There is a single cell near Hennebon. A well-defined double, and also a triple one, are amongst the remains of Loc-Maria-Ker.

Fremenville, in describing one of these monuments at Loc-Maria-Ker, says—"On s'aperçoit que l'intérieur etait partagé en deux chambres par une cloison composée de deux pierres plantées sur champ. Ces separations se remarquent dans beaucoup d'autres dolmens, plusieurs même sont devises en trois chambres."—Fremenville's *Antiquités de la Bretagne, Morbihan*, p. 23.

[3] In the chapter on "Cromlechs."

chapter is quoted the case of Redwald, king of the East Saxons, to show that in the temple where he worshipped he had *two altars* of sacrifice—one for Christ and one for devils—so that the presence of two dolmens, on the assumption that they were altars, is at once accounted for. Nor is it necessary here to restate the arguments in favour of a religious as opposed to a sepulchral object in the *erection* of the circular fanes.

As arguments against dolmens being sepulchres and not altars there are the facts that in India they are sometimes found erected on the bare rock, and that they are in that country generally without any funereal deposits.[1] In Britain there are dolmens in which the enclosed space beneath the tabular stone is nearly three times the length of an ordinary grave, and in Brittany one at least is five times as long as could be required for a tomb. Both in Britain and in Brittany other dolmens may be found where the space is not half what would be necessary for a human body disposed at length. The crouching position in which the dead were deposited by some of the British tribes might account for the size of the more contracted dolmens being sufficient for tombs, or it may be maintained that the smallest were sufficient when ashes and urns were to be the funereal deposit. But all this militates against the supposition that the great dolmens were primarily intended for places of sepulture.[2]

[1] See Meadows Taylor's and other papers in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*, January 1853, p. 380.

[2] In the Cornouaille district of Brittany, where pagan ceremonies still linger in most force, there is a custom which Villemarque believes to

Dolmen, near Kilternan, Co. Dublin.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie Del.

Keith & Gibb, Lith. Edin.

In his *Archæologia Hibernica*[1] Mr. Wakeman correctly describes a fine dolmen, called "the Giant's Grave," at Kilternan, in which "the covering stone, which rests upon six supporters varying in height from 2 to 3 feet above the ground, measures in length 23 feet 6 inches, in breadth 17, and in thickness 6 feet 6 inches." The same writer mentions that in the north and west of Ireland such monuments are called "beds of *Dermot and Graine*," from a legend that Dermot O'Duibhne having eloped with Graine, the wife of Fin-Mac-Cool, they were pursued and escaped for a year and a day, during which time they never slept in the same place; and hence there were in Ireland 366 such beds. From the number of the beds, so nearly corresponding with the number of days in a year—the name of the fair frail one being also that of the sun in Gaelic[2]

be Druidical. In June the youths and maidens above sixteen years of age assemble at some lichen-clad dolmen, the young men wearing green ears of corn in their hats, and the girls having flowers of flax in their bosoms. The flowers are deposited on the dolmen, and from the manner in which they remain or wither the young lovers believe they can divine the constancy of their selected partner. The whole party then dance round the dolmen, and at sunset return to their villages, each young man holding his partner by the tip of the little finger. At whatever time this practice originated, it may be presumed the dolmen was not then considered a sepulchre, as we cannot suppose the youthful population of a district assembled to deposit the offerings of love on a tomb, or to disturb the dwellings of the dead with their joyous revelry. A council held at Nantes in A.D. 658 denounced such monuments, but utterly failed to accomplish their destruction: Lapides, quos in ruinosis locis et silvestribus, dæmonum ludificationibus decepti venerantur, ubi et vota vovent et deferunt, funditus effodiantur."

[1] P. 13, Dublin 1848. The monument described is near the ruins of the ancient church of Kilternan, in which is a font of primitive form and workmanship.

[2] Grian, the sun.—*Gaelic Dictionary of Highland Society of Scotland.*

Grian, Greine, the sun.—Edward Lhuyds, *Archæologia Britannica.*

Enclosures called Grianan or Greinham, the house of the sun, where the Celts worshipped the sun, are to be met with everywhere.—See paper by the

—may not this legend refer to the connection of these altars with the worship of the sun? On a stone found in the Roman station at Inveresk was an inscription commencing "Apollini Grannio."[1]

The fact that dolmens are placed on bare rocks in India, and that monuments of that description do not contain any funereal deposits, is one reason. But a stronger argument against dolmens being exclusively sepulchral is their being found raised over consecrated fountains. These are not now common, as churches in many instances[2] have occupied the place of the table-stone.[3] One example of such a monument is that commonly called Arthur's Stone in Glamorganshire. Another dolmen raised over a consecrated fountain is to be seen near the village of Primelen on the promontory which has its termination at Pointe du Raz and Ile de Sen in the department of Finistere—a locality not only marked by Druidical monuments but mentioned in connection with Druidical mysteries in the commencement of the Christian era.[4]

Authors whose opinions are of great weight have lately assumed that dolmens and most other primitive monuments are places of sepulture, and account for their being found, as many and most of them are, uncovered and exposed, to the removal of the barrow or cairn which was

Reverend Donald M'Queen of the isle of Skye, published in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 437, etc.

A kistvaen near Cloyne in Ireland is called Carig-croith, or the Sun's House.

[1] Stewart's *Caledonia Romana*, 159.

[2] See article on "Consecrated Fountains."

[3] Gibson's *Camden Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 24.

[4] The priestesses in the Isle of Sena are described by Pomponius Mela.

originally heaped over them; arguing that the earth and stones which were piled *over* the sepulchral chamber have been removed for utilitarian purposes; and that New Grange, Gavr-Innes, and other monuments having the sepulchral chamber under the tumulus, show what others were that are now laid bare. This may possibly have been the case in a few highly-cultivated parts of the country. But if so, why would the most valuable part of the materials have been left where they would still obstruct cultivation? Nor has the great expense of removing a large barrow been fully taken into account. A still more formidable and apparently an unanswerable objection is the fact, that by far the greatest number of these rude stone monuments now existing are situated where no cultivation has yet reached. The principal remains of these great dolmens are to be found on the wild peninsulas of Armorica, on the mountains and hills of Wales, of Scotland, and of Cornwall, where it cannot be imagined they were ever whelmed in cairns or barrows. It will be seen that an opposite conclusion has here been adopted—viz. that altars, turned into tombs, have been obscured in sepulchral mounds by later generations.

In the descriptions of the most ancient altars of which history has preserved a record, and of the dolmens remaining in Celtic countries, there is a similarity amounting almost to identity. In the Old Testament we find that altars were to be formed of unhewn stones, and that there were to be no steps by which to ascend to these places of sacrifice.[1] So it is with dolmens of the earliest type in Celtic countries.

[1] Exod. xx. 25, 26.

In the First Book of Samuel there is an account of the erection of an altar, and an indication of the size, as well as of the manner of transporting the altar-stone. It is stated that Saul directed the people to "roll a great stone" unto him. This was "the first altar that Saul built unto the Lord;" a form of expression which leads to the conclusion that he formed other altars. This one was erected at Ajalon, where the people sacrificed oxen and sheep.[1]

From Josephus we learn that after the temple of Solomon was completed in all its magnificence "the altar was built of rough stones."

Some antiquaries[2] express a belief that the most ancient stone monuments of Britain were erected by a race which inhabited the country prior to the Celtic migrations. This may be correct, but as yet there is no sufficient proof, although there is strong circumstantial evidence to show the existence of a race which occupied Britain before the Celtic; and it is of consequence to observe that the number and magnitude of primitive stone remains existing in the countries of Western Europe correspond with the comparative duration of an unmixed Celtic race in the localities where these monuments are most abundant and best preserved—viz. in Armorica, Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Caledonia.

The greatest number and most perfect specimens of dol-

[1] 1 Sam. xiv. 33-35.

Notices of primitive stone monuments in Palestine will be found under the head of "Indian and Celtic Monuments," and in the description of the particular varieties of these monuments.

[2] See Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, pp. 68, 69.

Dolmen near Loc-Maria-Ker
overlooking the Islands in the Morbihan Sea

Keith & Gibb Lithors Aberdeen

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mens and kistvaens now remaining in the United Kingdom are to be found in Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and all appear to be of the simplest forms and of rude materials. The most complete and the largest dolmens are, however, to be found in Armorica, in the modern departments of Finistere and Morbihan.

Near the village of Loc-Maria-Ker, on the gentle slope of a rising ground, where broom, heath, whins, and brambles are mixed in great profusion, stands one of the best preserved of the large dolmens which remain in that neighbourhood. Looking from this monument the eye ranges over the Morbihan Sea and its three hundred and sixty islands, while on the other side lies the Bay of Quiberon, partly bounded by distant islands, one of which contains the remains of the earliest British author, St. Gildas. In this bay took place the well-contested combat between the fleet of the Romans, commanded by Cæsar's lieutenant Brutus, and the ships of the Celtic Veneti. The battle lasted from ten in the morning until sunset; and from the heights of Loc-Maria-Ker Cæsar and his army were, we may be sure, anxious spectators of the exertions of their comrades in the Roman fleet, the vessels of which were inferior in size, numbers, and equipment to those of their Celtic enemies. The ruin of the huge Cyclopean monuments which extend over all this neighbourhood, and mark the sites of the towns of the Veneti, may probably be dated from that day, when the conqueror put the whole senate of the nation to death and sold the people into slavery.

Within a few yards of the dolmen above mentioned lie the broken pieces of the largest menhir[1] which the architects of the primitive Cyclopean monuments are known to have erected.

From this position the remains of the largest known dolmen and also galgals, barrows, and other remains of antiquity which abound on this promontory, may be distinguished. The tumuli on Gavr-Innes and Long Island can also be descried, and beyond lies the peninsula of St. Gildas-de-Rhuis. On this promontory, which separates the Morbihan (or Little Sea) from the Great Ocean, rises the largest tumulus in France—viz. the Butte de Tumiac.[2] There also is the abbey founded by the British saint Gildas in A.D. 554.[3] In 1154 the famous Abelard became the superior of this abbey, and with difficulty escaped the repeated attempts of the monks to cut him off by poison in revenge of his endeavours to restrain their scandalous immoralities.

The dolmen whence this view extends is in length, from east to west, upwards of 30 feet. The height from the base to the table-stone is nearly 8 feet; the space beneath is lined with stones placed vertically, but only three stones of great size support the horizontal mass. Either the soil has accumulated around this semi-vault, or it was originally sunk half the depth of the vertical supports, as that is its

[1] Described in treating of "The Menhirs."

[2] This tumulus is 100 feet in height. I believe it was opened in 1855, and found to contain a sepulchral chamber similar to that in Gavr-Innes.

[3] Thomas Innes's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, p. 124.

present condition. The largest table-stone is now 18 feet long, 12½ broad, and nearly 3 feet thick; but a considerable portion seems to have been broken from one end, and now lies close beside, appearing as a table-stone of lesser dimensions. Two or three of the vertical stones which line the pit beneath the table-stone are covered with sculptures, which differ more in the manner of execution than in design from the sculptures in the sepulchral chamber under the tumulus on Gavr-Innes.[1] The figures may be mystical or only ornamental—the majority of them cannot be resolved into the likeness of any object, animate or inanimate.[2] On one stone there is the appearance of an inscription, which Fremenville says is in characters absolutely unknown, but which others have declared to be Phœnician. It may be an inscription, but it may be doubted whether it is the work of man, or not rather the result of natural inequalities arising from partial disintegration of the stone. The same doubts arise in examining the upper side of some dolmens which have been generally pronounced to be artificially excavated, and still to show the position in which the human victim was laid, as well as the channels by which the blood was to flow from these altars. Whether these appearances are the partly obliterated works of man, or the natural effects of time and tempests wearing away the softest portions of the stone, is extremely

[1] At Gavr-Innes they are incised; under this dolmen the surface has been removed, and the figures left prominent.

[2] They resemble the sculptures in the chamber of the mound of New Grange in Ireland, and the rude figures on a slab found in the parish of Yarrow in Selkirkshire, represented in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 334.

doubtful. Beneath this dolmen were found a small stone axe, fragments of coarse urns mixed with cinders, and a ball of gold wire. This shows that the dolmen was used as a tomb, but does not prove that it was designed for a place of sepulture. It is evidently not in its original state, for the vertical stones which line the pit have never, by nearly two feet, reached to the horizontal covering, and the few stones which are sculptured have the figures continued round on the sides, although these can only be seen at some places that do not come into actual contact with unhewn stones, placed as close on each side as their uneven surfaces will permit.

The largest table-stone of any dolmen in France or in Britain is also contiguous to the village of Loc-Maria-Ker. It is 38 feet in length, 14 in greatest breadth, and where thickest is 2 feet 4 inches. It has been broken at a distance of 8 feet from one end, but the piece still remains not much displaced. Before the government interfered to prevent the destruction of these monuments, a line of wedge-holes had been cut, apparently for the purpose of splitting off a pillar from this huge block. The protection of the state has been just in time to save it from being cut into door-lintels and gate-posts. Most of the supports having been removed, one side of the stone rests upon the ground; but the other being still propped up, allows us to see that the slab had covered two apartments, and that other table-stones had continued the whole length of the dolmen to nearly 70 feet.

In many dolmens found in the Morbihan—indeed in most

of them—there has been a covered gallery of approach to the larger space, surmounted by the horizontal stones of greatest size. There are many monuments classed as dolmens that have this gallery and the chamber to which it leads closed all round and above, as nearly as the irregular forms of the stones will permit, the entrance at the end of the gallery only being left open. This form of monument does not seem properly to belong to the class either of dolmens or of kistvaens. Two of this kind—one situated near Loc-Maria-Ker, the other between Carnac and Auray—are partly covered by the rubbish of large tumuli, on the verge of which they stand. The tumuli to which they are adjacent do not appear ever to have extended farther than at present; but it is from the falling down of their materials that the stone monuments are partly obscured. These and others of similar construction situated on the summits of rising grounds, and without any appearance either of cairn or of barrow ever having been near or connected with them, are very similar to the sepulchral chamber under the tumulus on Gavr-Innes, which again seems closely to resemble those in the county of Meath in Ireland.[1]

After seeing the stone chambers and galleries which are apart from tumuli, as well as the chamber beneath the great mound on Gavr-Innes, my impression was that they were not originally intended for purposes of sepulture—at least not solely for places of interment unconnected with sacrifices—and that neither were they intended to be consigned to obscurity beneath some huge pile of stones or mound of earth. The

[1] The mounds containing sepulchral chambers at New Grange and Dowth.

dolmen near Saumur is 61 by 14½ feet. It only requires earth heaped over it to be a chambered tumulus, such as those at Gavr-Innes, New Grange, Dowth, etc. etc. This process is actually so far accomplished at the dolmen of Antiquera in Spain, which is in Spanish feet 86½ by 22, and 10 by 10 high.[1] The same kind of attempt seems to have been commenced at the great dolmen near the fragments of the huge prostrate menhir at Loc-Maria-Ker. In Brittany the tumulus formed of stones—in Gaelic and Scotch called "cairn"—is known by the name of "galgal;"[2] the mound of earth only, or of earth and stones mixed, is called "barrow."

It has been remarked that the sculptured stones in the subterraneous chamber of the mound on Gavr-Innes have evidently been shaped and graven before being placed in their present situation.[3] I remarked the same peculiarity in the sculptured stones in the pit beneath the dolmen on the height above Loc-Maria-Ker. In their present situation, placed close to each other, their sides can only be seen where there are accidental inequalities that prevent actual contact; yet the figures on the front of the stones are continued on the sides. This renders it improbable that their present position was that for which the stones were originally destined, and makes it impossible that the sculptures could have been executed after the monument was erected; thus leading to the conclusion that the

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. p. 49.

[2] Galgal would appear to have the same signification in Palestine.—See Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, note p. 119.

[3] By Mr. Lukis in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. iii. p. 272; also by Mr. Wakeman and other Irish antiquaries.

sculptured stones in these chambers had been designed and executed, and, we may reasonably suppose, employed for other objects, previous to their being placed in the position which they now occupy. The chamber in the tumulus on Gavr-Innes is 70 feet in length ; or, rather, from the chamber, which is about 8 feet square and 6 feet high, a gallery, gradually diminishing in height and breadth, extends for 60 feet, until near the entrance it is only 4 feet high and about the same in breadth. The entrance is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high.

In one of the vertical stones of the chamber a basin has been cut, leaving two pieces of the face of the stone, behind which the aperture is continued ; thus giving the appearance of three openings. The two intermediate portions so left have apparently been worn by long-continued friction. How could this friction have occurred if the place were a tomb? In the interstices between the large stones there were remarked fragments which had been ornamented with sculptures similar to those on the vertical supports.[1] A careful antiquary has supposed that these fragments were thrust in to fill up interstices at a later period. To me it appears more probable that the sepulchral chamber, if it were sepulchral, had been formed from other monuments by a later generation.

In the sculptures in this chamber the only real objects, animate or inanimate, which are represented are serpents, a knife or knives, and figures, possibly stone hatchets resembling heraldic piles.

In Scotland there is not any very fine specimen of a dol-

[1] *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. iii. pp. 270-273.

men in good preservation. One at Craig-Madden in Stirlingshire, called "The Auld Wives Lift," appears to be of the most primitive form; and an ancient belief regarding it renders it of peculiar interest, being one of the superstitions common to the inhabitants of the peninsula of India and to the Celtic nations at the extremity of Western Europe. Although not situated on very elevated ground, a view extending to the sea on both sides of the island is obtained from this dolmen, which consists of three stones, two being supports to the great table-stone, which is an immense block measuring 18 feet in length, 11 in breadth, and 7 in depth. Beneath this stone, and between the two on which it rests, is a narrow triangular opening. Through this aperture, according to popular belief, persons who thrust themselves will avert the calamity of dying childless.[1] The same belief prevails in India in regard to similar crevices at various consecrated places—one of them easily within reach of any person who visits the capital of Western India. On the margin of the sea, at the base of the precipice near which stands the Government House at Malabar point of Bombay, there is a narrow angular opening between large masses of rock. Through this aperture pilgrims must squeeze themselves if they hope to escape what is still in the East reckoned a dire misfortune—viz. dying childless. Having first made their offerings, and been duly instructed by their spiritual guides from the neighbouring temple of Wal-

[1] From Pliny we find that the Druids possessed the power of imparting fecundity to all animals that theretofore had been barren by means of the mistletoe, which they gathered with mysterious ceremonies.

keshwar, the devotees may not only trust to acquiring descendants,[1] but also that in pressing themselves through the cleft in the rocks they have left their sins behind—at all events that they are emancipated from the misfortunes which would otherwise have attached to former misdeeds. More particulars regarding this form of material regeneration and absolution will be found in the article on "Perforated Stones." It is probable that in remote ages members of a pagan priesthood in Ireland[2] and Scotland practised like jugglery with the Brahmans of Walkeshwar, and that declining local superstitions are but the faint echoes of ancient imposture at St. Declan's Rock, or the Auld Wives' Lift of Craigmaddie.

The two great "tolmens" in the Scilly Isles, and that of still larger proportions at Mên in Cornwall, described by Borlase,[3] if not altogether naturally formed, did not owe much to artificial arrangement. The benefits which superstition believed were to be derived by those who passed through beneath the superincumbent masses of these dolmens, were the same as were attributed to similar acts performed in similar places[4] in India, in Ireland, and in Scotland.

In treating of kistvaens it is impossible to give any definition that would properly describe the variety of monuments so called, which, besides being so different in magnitude, were

[1] An object of paramount consequence to a Hindu, whose funeral ceremonies, and consequent release from future penalties, could be effectually performed only by a son.

[2] St. Declan's Rock, in the county of Waterford.

[3] Borlase's *Cornwall*, pp. 165-167.

[4] See the chapter on "Perforated Stones."

evidently erected for various purposes. The ordinary kistvaens were obviously formed for the purpose to which we find they were applied—viz. as coffins to contain urns or dead bodies, whether placed in a sitting posture or disposed at length. Some kistvaens are found deposited beneath the surface of the soil, others above it. In tumuli some are under some above the original surface of the soil; some are in the centre and others are in various parts of the mound.

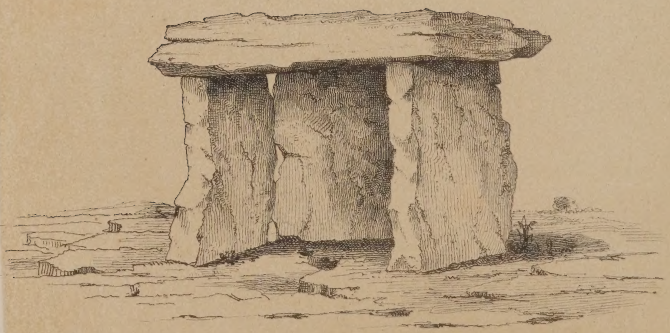
There are kistvaens altogether above ground which never appear to have been under a mound, and which, had they not been entirely closed, would, from the great covering slab that forms the roof, have been classed with dolmens. Like the dolmens it is probable that they were used, as they certainly are adapted, for sacrificial altars; but, unlike the dolmens, I believe the kistvaens were also designed, as they have been used, as places of sepulture.

There is a form of monument, somewhat resembling the kistvaen, noticed under the head of "Dolmens," as although not agreeing with them it more materially differs from the kistvaens, as it is open on one side and is occasionally found divided into two or even three compartments.

A very remarkable form of kistvaen—formed of great slabs, covered above and closed on all sides, with the exception of a round hole near the middle of one of the stones—is very common in some parts of the Dekhan of India.[1] The aperture, which is in one of the stones that forms an end or side

[1] Meadows Taylor's paper in *Transactions of Bombay Asiatic Society* for January 1853.

Kistvaen with circular aperture.
In the Dekhan India.



Cell formed of four slabs.
In the Dekhan India.

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of the monument, is not in any case large enough for a person to pass through, being only about the size of a child's head. It has been suggested that this opening may have been intended for the spirit to pass through in progress to the new body which it was to occupy in its destined transmigration; and I presume that through this opening the spirit was expected to convey the arms, ornaments, and valuables deposited for its use, but still found in such tombs.[1]

In Circassia a monument in every way similar to the form of kistvaen of the Dekhan was observed, and is described and depicted in Bell's *Travels*.[2] The stones which form the sides incline slightly inwards, and the great tabular stone above projects a considerable distance beyond its supports. These are peculiar features; but still more peculiar is the circular aperture in the centre of one of the supporting slabs: its size and position show a coincidence which cannot be viewed as accidental, although these tombs are found in countries so distant from each other.[3]

In the kistvaen at Trevethy in Cornwall, visited and depicted by Norden about A.D. 1584, the great covering stone is

[1] The Hindus believe that the soul of a person deceased exists, but in ethereal or unsubstantial form, until certain necessary funeral ceremonies have been performed. It then passes into a more substantial form, described as about the size and length of a man's thumb. The ceremonies are continued daily for ten days; then once a month, until the final ceremony takes place at the expiry of a year. The soul is supplied with food daily—cakes of rice and milk, with libations of water. —Carey's *Rámáyan*, vol. iii. p. 72.

[2] Bell's *Travels in Circassia*, vol. i. p. 154.

[3] The Abasgians (in Circassia) inhabiting Mount Caucasus did worship (even until the time of Procopius) groves and woods.—Inigo Jones's *Stonehenge*.

described as being pierced by an artificial opening, very round and eight inches in diameter.[1] In Circassia, as in Britain and in India, tradition is silent as to the race that erected these monuments, and puerile legends only testify to an undefined antiquity.

[1] It thus appears in the model of the monument in the British Museum.

Craigmaddie, Stirlingshire.

Keith & Gibb Lithrs Aberdeen

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CHAPTER XII.

PERFORATED STONES—EARTH TUNNELS—SACRED CREVICES IN AND UNDER ROCKS, AND ARTIFICIAL MONUMENTS.

Passing Persons through small Tunnels formed in the Earth; through Holes in Stones; Stone of Odin; Hag-Stones; Bored Stanes; through Clefts in Rocks and Crevices under Artificial Monuments; between the Wall and a Pillar of the Holy Sepulchre—St Declan's Rock—Auld Wives' Lift at Craigmaddie—The Shargar Stone.—*Stones used in the Inauguration of Rulers*—Examples in Sacred History—Stone of Destiny on the Hill of Tara, and in the Coronation Chair at Westminster.—*Sacred and Inaugural Places marked with Footsteps*—Common to many Nations; in India; in Ireland; in the Hebrides; in Orkney; on Adam's Peak in Ceylon; at Poitiers; in Egypt; in Scythia.—*Rocking-Stones*—Both Artificial and Natural; in the Island of Tenos—Used for Divination in Celtic Countries.—*Stones at which Oaths were Sworn*—In the Hebrides; in Orkney.

ALL the forms of stone monuments thus enumerated—"bored stanes" (perforated stones), or their intended equivalents formed in earth—were connected with the earliest superstitions of the Celtic race; and these have been to some extent maintained by their descendants, or the mixed generations by whom they have been succeeded or superseded in Britain and Armorica. One class of perforated stones will be found described in the chapter on "Kistvaens" as they are found in a particular form of these monuments, and cannot be clearly

connected with the rites or magical practices which adhere to the others, and are now to be noticed.

The principal ceremony attaching to the monuments now under consideration is a person squeezing or being passed through the aperture; and the objects to be obtained by this process were no less than the cure of existing maladies, a protection against future magical incantations, and in some cases emancipation from the evil effects of former sins—in short, practical absolution. In the *Confessional* of Ecgbert drawing children through a hole in the earth is condemned as a grievous act of paganism;[1] and the practice is denounced among other heathen acts by the *Canons of Edgar*,[1] where it is called "that devil's craft whereby children are drawn through the earth." For this ceremony a small tunnel was formed in the ground, and through this the children were drawn.[2] In a Saxon homily, quoted by Wright in his *Superstitions of England*, drawing a child through the earth by its mother, where cross-roads meet, is denounced as giving herself and her child to the devil.[3] At Oxford it was customary when a child was born to cut a cheese called a "groaning cheese," and to commence in the middle: continuing to cut the cheese in this manner, it at last had the form of a large ring, through which the child was passed on the day of its christening.[4] The same superstition, under a different form, was

[1] Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. ii. pp. 191, 211, 249, No. 16.

[2] Glossary to Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*.

[3] In Wright's *Literature and Superstitions of England*, vol. i. p. 242, quoting a MS. in the library of Cambridge.

[4] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Sir H. Ellis, vol. ii. p. 44.

practised in Scotland in the last century. Shaw states that he has often seen people in the district of Moray cut withs of woodbine found clinging to an oak. This they twisted into a circle, through which sick persons were passed by putting it over their heads, and passing it down their bodies.[1] Evelyn, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, says—"I have heard it affirmed, with great confidence and upon experience, that ruptured children may be cured by passing them through a cleft made in the stem of a growing ash-tree."[2] In these cases the earth tunnel, the circle of woodbine, and the ring of cheese were probably derived from the earlier and more durable monuments which will now be described.

Near Lanyon, in the parish of Madern in Cornwall, are three erect stones—the middle one being perforated by a hole one foot two inches in diameter. Through this hole, in A.D. 1749, persons crept that they might be cured of pains in the back and limbs; and Borlase adds that "fanciful parents at certain times of the year do customarily draw their young children through, in order to cure them of the rickets."[3] Tradition ascribed nearly similar virtues to a perforated stone which stood near the columnar temple at Stennis in Orkney—viz. that a child which had been passed through the hole in that stone would never shake with palsy

[1] Shaw's *History of Moray*, p. 232.

[2] Evelyn's *Silva*, p. 157.

For the same complaint—viz. hernia—the inhabitants of the Canary Islands passed naked infants through a long rush partly split. This was on Midsummer-Eve.—Murray's *Morocco and Canary Islands, etc.* vol. ii. p. 19.

[3] Borlase's *Cornwall*, pp. 168, 169. This stone was still regarded in 1749 as having powers likewise of divination.

in old age.[1] Several stones with similar perforations are to be met with in Cornwall, three of them standing near a circular columnar fane.[2] The same custom—viz. of passing sick persons through the apertures—was practised at this group.[3]

Stukeley mentions a perforated stone, on the north-east side, which formed part of the temple at Stonehenge. At Avebury also one of the great monoliths that stood within the outer circle, near the south-east or Kennet approach, had a circular aperture. At Applecross in Ross-shire a perforated stone occupies the centre of a columnar circle. At Tormore, parish of Kilmory, Buteshire, one of the columns of a circular fane is perforated. Adjoining this circle are three unhewn columns rising about fifteen feet above the surface of the moor in which these monuments are found.[4] One of the stones forming the circle[5] on Mauchrie Moor, in the island of Arran, is perforated, and the edges of the hole appear to have been much worn.

Among the most interesting memorials of prehistoric ages are the stones of Stennis in Orkney.[6] In extent and varied interest they are at least equal to any Cyclopean monuments in Britain except Avebury, to which, although

[1] Wilson's *Prehistoric and Archæological Annals of Scotland*, p. 101.

[2] Brayley and Britton's *Illustrations of England*—"Cornwall," vol. ii. p. 497.

[3] Borlase's *Cornwall*, pp. 178, 179.

[4] Wilson's *Prehistoric and Archæological Annals of Scotland*, p. 99.

[5] Bryce's "Excavations in Arran," in the *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv.

[6] Early notices of this group will be found in Wallace's *Isles of Orkney*, p. 53; Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 365: and later and more accurate accounts in Wilson's *Prehistoric and Archæological Annals of Scotland*, pp. 101, 102, 105, etc.

in every way inferior, they have some striking points of resemblance. Apart, on the north-east side of a circular columnar temple at Stennis, stood the "Stone of Odin," which was destroyed so lately as 1814. It was about eight feet in height, three in breadth, nine inches in thickness, and was perforated, having a round hole the size of a man's head. This stone, although less than half the size of other monoliths at Stennis, had a special interest attached to it in consequence of the uses to which it was occasionally applied even in the last century. "The vow of Odin" was sworn while the parties joined hands through the hole in the stone; and so sacred was this engagement reckoned that the person who dared to break it was counted infamous, and excluded from all society. As there is not only probability but proof that the monolithic group at Stennis existed prior to the visits of the Northmen, the Stone of Odin must have received that name at a comparatively recent period, and the rites practised at it, and pertaining to other ancient monuments, must be deemed of Celtic or pre-Celtic origin.

Near the ruined church of Saint Couslan, in the parish of Campbelton, where the earliest Scots from Ireland had one of their principal seats, there stood a rude pillar having a hole through which it was a practice for lovers to join hands and promise mutual fidelity. It is believed that no one ever broke the troth thus plighted without encountering some fatal accident. This practice and belief seem to have endured to the end of the last century.[1]

[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. x. pp. 536, 537.

A few hundred yards below Coldstream Bridge, on the north side of the river Tweed, lies a boulder estimated to weigh about twelve tons. This is the "Grey Stone," and the field in which it lies is called the "Grey Stone Field." In former days it was an object of mystery and reverence, being resorted to on the occasion of the celebration of Border marriages. The bride and bridegroom having stretched across the stone and joined hands, their friends declared the compact formed.[1]

Passing children through the hole in the Stone of Odin was practised at that as at other perforated stones. The position of the stone in reference to the circular group was that in which a monolith is often found—viz. on the east or north-east of other circular fanes. The huge unhewn column called "The Friar's Heel" at Stonehenge is so placed; and in fanes of small and rude materials there may be seen a number detached in the same relative position.

In the Western Isles of Scotland libations of milk were poured out to a spirit through a hole in a stone.[2]

In the commune of Belz in Brittany the summit of a tumulus, once believed to have been dedicated to the sun, is now surmounted by the chapel of St. Cedo. Within the building is a hole regarded with superstitious veneration by the peasantry. There is a tradition that through this cavity

[1] Address, in September 1861, to the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, by D. M. Home, Esq. of Wedderburn.

[2] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 391. From Pliny and various ancient authors we know that libations of milk were used, but it is not mentioned that they were poured through a hole in a stone.

once issued the oracular responses of a heathen deity; now it is believed that deafness is cured by the sufferer thrusting his head into the hole.[1] The Bretons in the department of Finistere still continue to thrust their left arms through a hole in the side of the sarcophagus which is the tomb of St. Gurlot at Quimperle, believing that by this ceremony they will be cured of diseases, particulary of rheumatism.[2] This tomb is in the crypt below the very ancient abbey-church of Quimperle, where, according to the legend, St. Gurlot suffered martyrdom. The tradition regarding the hole in the chapel of St. Cedo—viz. that through this opening once issued oracular responses—is remarkably confirmed by a passage transcribed from the *Proceedings of the Presbytery of Dingwall*, 5th September 1656. Having met at Applecross, they found "amongst uther abhominable and heathenish practices that the people in that place were accustomed to sacrifice bulls. . . . Frequent approaches to some ruinous chappels and circulating of them; and that future events, in reference especially to life and death, in takeing of journeyis, was expected to be manifested by a holl of a round stone quherin they tried the entering of their heade. . . . Adoring of wells, and uther superstitious monuments and stones tedious to rehearse" are also amongst the arts for which the people are rebuked and threatened with excommunication, "as also in pouring of milk upon hills as oblationes."[3]

[1] Weld's *Vacation in Brittany*, p. 258.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 231; Murray's *Hand-Book for France*, 1856, p. 146.

[3] Paper by Dr. Arthur Mitchell in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 256-258.

There was a superstition in England that a "hag-stone"—a stone with a hole in it—if hung to the bed would prevent nightmare. If hung at the stable-door it prevents witches from riding horses by night.[1] This last belief is by no means extinct, although it may be waxing faint; for any one who is at the trouble to examine will find a perforated stone, or piece of some peculiar wood with a hole in it, attached to the keys of many stable-doors. One of the charges of witchcraft urged against a Scotch lady of family and fortune, Ewfame M'Calzane, in 1591, was that she had procured relief from natural pains by having a "boired stane"—a stone with a hole through it—placed beneath her pillow.[2]

Being childless is, among many nations in an early stage of civilisation, considered one of the greatest misfortunes. It was for long so regarded in Scotland, and accounts for the Scottish malediction "May ye be the last o' your race!" which is probably a modified and modernised form of a more terrible imprecation—viz. "May you be the last gain' gear on the face

[1] Grose, quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* by Sir H. Ellis, vol. iii. p. 154.

Aubrey, writing in the seventeenth century, says that to prevent "the hag from riding horses a flint with a natural hole in it is to be hung by the manger, but it is still better if hung about their necks."—Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, p. 140.

[2] On an accumulation of such charges this lady was burnt to death without having been previously strangled. She was the only daughter and heiress of a Scotch judge, Lord Cliftonhall; and that property—viz. Cliftonhall—being immediately granted to Sir James Sandilands may in some measure account for the savage cruelty of her persecutors and judges. Of Sir James Sandilands it is sufficient to know that he was a favourite of King James I. of England, who relieved the children of M'Calzean from forfeiture, whilst he guaranteed their mother's property to his favourite. The history of this case will be found at length in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*.

of the earth!"—the last of moving creatures in existence. By the modern Hindu, possibly by the ancient inhabitants of Caledonia, being childless is not only considered a misfortune, but is believed to be a punishment for sins committed by the individual in his present or some former state of being. At all events the Hindu and the Celt used the same extraordinary means for counteracting their destiny—viz. squeezing themselves through a cleft in a rock or a hole in the massive monoliths of a Cyclopean monument. Malabar Point in Bombay is one of the places where this rite is practised, and at Craigmaddie in Stirlingshire and at St. Declan's Rock in the county of Waterford the custom is not yet obsolete.[1]

This rite among the Hindus is connected with an idea of moral regeneration, and is only one out of many ceremonies by which they have degraded a spiritual doctrine into a coarse, sensual, material representation. Sevagi, the founder of the Mahratta empire, is said to have come in disguise among his enemies at Bombay, at the risk of his life, in order to pass himself through the cleft at Malabar Point. Ragonath Rao the Peishwa (father of Baajy Rao,[2] the last of these usurping ministers and hereditary traitors) repeatedly passed himself through the crevice under the direction of the Brahmans at Walkeshwar. Not content with the rites at that place, Ragonath Rao is said to have progressed in this superstition, and from the material representation of a spiritual tenet advanced to a mechanical absurdity. He caused the figure of a cow to

[1] Referred to more particularly in the articles on "Dolmens" and the "Serpent."

[2] This was the person who adopted the infamous Nana Sahib.

be formed of gold, through which he was passed to ensure regeneration from a sacred origin.[1]

For purposes similar to those just noticed Christians were in the practice of forcing themselves through between a wall and the pillars which supported an altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. To accomplish this difficult feat both men and women sometimes stripped themselves, lay down, and were dragged through by their companions.[2]

"St. Declan's Stone" at Ardmore in the county of Waterford, and the "Auld Wives' Lift" at Craigmaddie in the parish of Baldernock and county of Stirling, are masses of rock supported on two others, between which superstitious persons squeeze themselves through. At St. Declan's on the 24th July 1826 upwards of eleven hundred persons, both men and women—having removed the greater part of their clothes, and laid themselves flat on their faces—struggled through beneath St. Declan's Rock.[3]

A combination of heathen practices, Christianised and thus perpetuated up to the present generation, was to be found at St. Paul's Well[4] in the parish of Fyvie in Aberdeenshire, near which once stood a chapel dedicated to the Apostle. Sick persons resorted to the well and cast their offerings into the water. Beside the well was the "Shargar Stone," under which puny children were dragged to relieve them from the malign influence by which it was supposed that they had been blighted and still suffered. The Shargar[5] Stone has been

[1] Moore's *Hindu Pantheon*.

[2] Sir J. Grahame Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 123, quoting Doubdan's *Voyage*, 1652, p. 60.

[3] Ryland's *History of Waterford*.

[4] At Jackston, in the parish of Fyvie.

[5] Shargar, from the Gaelic, signifying blighted or puny.

removed, but the generation that believed in its virtues has not yet altogether passed away.

Stones in which footsteps were cut were used at the inauguration of kings and chiefs of the Celts. There were also stones, unsculptured, held sacred to the same purpose; and there were pillars, beside which the person to be invested with authority was placed at the ceremony. The same practice, as regards the pillar at least, prevailed among the Jews. Abimelech was made king at the pillar which Joshua had set up in Shechem;[1] Jehoash when he was anointed king "stood by a pillar as the manner was;"[2] and Jephthah was chosen as ruler and captain at Mizpeh.[3] The stones set up at Gilgal have been elsewhere referred to,[4] and that place, it appears, was not only employed for judicial purposes and for worship, but also for the inauguration of kings, as "all the people made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal."[5]

The "Pillar-Stone," or "Stone of Destiny," which witnessed the coronation of the Celtic kings of Ireland, is still believed by Irish antiquaries of authority to stand on the green mound of Tara, although not in its original place —viz. Rath-Righ and Dumha-na-n-Giall, or "the mound of the hostages" in the "royal enclosure."[6] This monument in size and appearance can never have been represented by the "Stone of Destiny" now in the coronation-chair at Westminster. The Irish antiquaries have produced plausible reasons

[1] Judg. ix. 6.

[2] 2 Kings xi. 12-14.

[3] Judg. xi. 11.

[4] Under the head "Circular Fanes."

[5] 1 Sam. xi. 15.

[6] Wakeman's *Archæologica Hibernica*, p. 41; Dr. Petrie's *Tara*.

and arguments for denying that *their* "Stone of Destiny" was removed from Tara; but I do not consider that the evidence which they produce at all invalidates the well-supported fact that *a* "Stone of Destiny" was brought from Ireland to Scotland and that it is now at Westminster.[1] The case as between Ireland and Scotland might be settled if it were admitted that on the hill of Tara still stands the pillar that once marked the place of inauguration, and that the "King's Stone" of Scotland was either the pedestal or the seat used in the ceremonies at the investiture of the Irish kings.

As the danger incurred by any one interfering in points of precedence with Celtic disputants no longer exists, the present resting-place of the true Lia-fail may be dispassionately considered. The descent of the Scottish from the Irish kings is admitted; but Irish antiquaries would limit the faith and generosity of their ancestors by disbelieving the gift of the Lia-fail[2] to their Scottish cousins. Dr. Petrie considers it in the highest degree improbable that the Irish would have relinquished a monument so venerable for its antiquity and deemed essential to the legitimate succession of their own kings. But

[1] Toland in his *History of the Druids*, p. 137. edit. 1815, gives the original prophecy connected with the Lia-fail (Stone of Destiny) in the Gaelic language. In Wintoun's *Chronicle* (vol. i. p. 58) the prophecy is given in Latin and in Lowland Scotch.

Monipennies' *Summarie of the Scots Chronicle*, dedicated in 1612 to King James VI., also gives a Scottish metrical translation. Sir Walter Scott's version is no improvement on these earlier versions. The prophecy differs materially from most others in being explicit and intelligible, the purport being that "if *fate* does not deceive in whatever place this stone is found, the Scots shall govern that country."

[2] Liag-fail, the "Fatal Stone," called also Cloch-na-cineamhna, or the "Stone of Fortune."—Toland's *History of the Druids*, p. 137.

an answer may be found to these arguments in facts furnished by himself—viz. that about the very time when the Lia-fail is said to have been transferred to Scotland Tara was abandoned in consequence of the place and palace and the king, Dermod, having been cursed by St. Ruadan of Lorha, whose anathema consigned to present desolation and enduring neglect that ancient seat of Scottish royalty. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that so cherished a memorial would be removed from the "abomination of desolation." The Lia-fail of Westminster is portable, the pillar at Tara is not, which would account for the one being removed and the other left. It is *possible* that the stone of Westminster, in accordance with tradition, and as a palladium of their race, might have been the companion of a Celtic horde in their migration to Ireland; but the pillar of Tara must have been consecrated by them after their arrival in Erin. The words Lia-fail, it is remarked in the *Dictionary of the Highland Society of Scotland*, are not known in Scotland; so from this we may learn that the name at least of this palladium of Scottish monarchy is an importation from Ireland.

It would appear from the Life of St. Columba that he was accused of having instigated a war, which he aided by his prayers, and in which he was efficiently assisted by his royal relatives and their subjects. The curses and prayers of the two saints, and the strong arms and carnal weapons of their supporters, resulted in the rout of the army of King Dermod at the battle of Cuildreme in A.D. 561.[1] It was about this

[1] Thomas Innes's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 141.

period—viz. in 563—according to Irish authorities, that Tara, cursed by St. Ruadan, was deserted as a capital. It was partly in consequence of the feud with the family of Dermod that Saint Columba was *advised* to leave Ireland, and he was certainly excommunicated by an Irish synod[1] for the assistance which he had rendered to his royal relatives. Now, the year 563 is the very one fixed as that in which the great missionary to the Northern Scots arrived in Iona.[2]

We see that the rival parties of St. Columba and King Dermod had recourse to carnal weapons as well as to spiritual. The curse of St. Ruadan did not take effect against Tara until after St. Columba's prayers, and the weapons of the party which he instigated, had triumphed over King Dermod at the battle of Cuildreme. Might not the Westminster Lia-fail be a trophy, and the destruction of Tara a consequence of that victory? or might not the Lia-fail have been surrendered to the party of St. Columba that they might proceed to Caledonia to conquer or be conquered by the Picts? and in either of these events relieve their Irish relatives from dangerous competitors, who were equally powerful in ecclesiastical curses and bodily combats. It is also to be noticed that there is no mention of the first five on the list of Scottish kings in Caledonia having been inaugurated. Fergus, the first of them, came to assist his countrymen who were pressed and threatened by the Picts, and Thomas Innes remarks that it is not said that he

[1] Thomas Innes's *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 149, 150.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 151; also Reeves's *Vita St. Columbæ*, pp. lxxiii. 31, 247, 255, 287, 310, 370.

was elected or inaugurated as king. This is also the case with the next four on the list of Scottish kings, whose reigns, along with that of Fergus, occupied a period of only sixty-eight years. Aidan, the sixth on the list, is the first of whom it is recorded that he was ordained and inaugurated king. This took place in the year 571—that is, as we have seen, eight years after the arrival of St. Columba in Scotland and the desolation of Tara.

In a superstitious age, when paganism was about to yield to Christianity, the power of the Lia-fail would have been real, although its claims may have been false. From the history of St. Columba we know that he was not above performing miracles with a stone of less pretensions than that which was said to have been the pillow of the patriarch Jacob, and which all acknowledged to be the palladium of Scottish monarchy. St. Columba, it is recorded, sent, at the request of the Pictish king Brudeus, a small white stone, the water poured over which being administered to the pagan magician, the Druid Broichan, recovered him from an illness that had brought him to the point of death. This stone was thereafter kept as a precious jewel by the Pictish kings.[1]

Wherever the resting-place of the Lia-fail may have been prior to the middle of the sixth century, it was then, and until the end of the thirteenth century, deemed a sacred appendage of Scottish royalty—first in Iona, then at Dunstaffnage, and latterly at Scone, until in 1296 it was seized

[1] Thomas Innes's *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 197-207. See also Reeves's *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, p. 147.

by King Edward I. and transferred to the coronation-chair in Westminster Abbey.

The tradition of the early migration of this talisman is not without some value in connection with the Celtic race, who are represented as fighting their way by the coasts of Spain and through France until ultimately they reached Britain and Ireland. The Scots, according to this tradition, were subsequently sent with the Lia-fail, and under a son of the King of Spain, to conquer and occupy Ireland. This tradition, like the legend of Merlin transferring Stonehenge from Kildare, alludes to the Celtic migration through Spain. Stonehenge is said to have been in Africa previous to being transported into Spain. There is also in support of these legends the national belief in early times of Celtic migrations from Spain, which seems, from the appearance of some of the tribes, to have found favour with Tacitus. As regards Cyclopean monuments, however slight may be the value of such testimony, it is still worthy of note as corresponding with primitive monolithic fanes which may be traced in accordance with the migrations indicated by these traditions.

If these explanations are deemed insufficient to maintain the legitimacy of the Westminster "Stone of Destiny," there is still the right to claim for stone relics a privilege possessed by bone relics—viz. an inherent power of multiplying themselves according to the demand. The Lia-fail appears to be a piece of coarse sandstone, and is 26 inches long, 16 broad, and 10 thick.

The Hill of Tara and the Abbey of Westminster are not

the only places in Britain and Ireland that did or do possess stones of inauguration. Some of these bore the mark of footsteps—either natural cavities with some resemblance to a footprint, or a representation artificially graven in the rock. Such memorials are very generally diffused in the east and in the west of the old world—in India and in Ireland ; some of them being connected with religions, some with civil rites, and some with ceremonies partly civil and partly religious. They are common to nations professing Christianity and Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Paganism. They are of all ages, from the pre-historical to the present century, from the footstep on Adam's Peak in Ceylon to the footstep on Calais pier where Louis XVIII. landed in 1814.

Spencer, in his *Dialogues on Ireland*,[1] gives an account of the ceremonies at the inauguration of the leader of a sept in Ireland in the end of the sixteenth century. He says that they place the captain-elect upon a stone, "reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly on a hill, in some of which I have seen formed and engraven a foot, whereon he, standing, received an oath." The oath was, that their elected captain should preserve inviolate the ancient customs of his people.

In the island of Jura[2] there is—or at least was at the end of the seventeenth century—on an islet in Loch Finlagan, a stone with a deep impression to receive the feet of M'Donald when he was crowned King of the Isles and swore to preserve the rights of his vassals. The same writer mentions that on the accession of a new chieftain of a clan it was cus-

[1] Folio, 1633, p. 5. [2] Martin's *Western Islands*, p. 240.

tomary to place him on the top of a cairn.[1] In the island of South Ronaldshay Martin says there is a stone with the impression of two feet. This stone was kept in "Our Lady's Kirk" in that island, and the people had a tradition that St. Magnus once on a time, having no other means of crossing the Pentland Firth, placed his feet on this stone, and was transported to the island of South Ronaldshay.[2] Previous to its employment by St. Magnus it was probably used for the same purpose as the stone which received the feet of M'Donald at Jura.

In Ceylon the pointed summit of Samanala, called by the English Adam's Peak, rises amongst the richest vegetation and most beautiful scenery in that Eden of the Eastern wave. The height of this mountain is 7420 feet above the level of the sea. On the apex of the peak a natural and slight hollow in the rock presents to those who have sufficient faith some faint resemblance to a footstep 5½ feet in length. This is perhaps the most generally venerated memorial to be found in the Eastern world.[3] It attracts pilgrims from all countries that have adopted the religion of Buddha, Mohammed, or the Hindu gods.[4] The traditional history of Samanala, as preserved in Buddhist works, extends to B.C. 577, when it was visited by Gautama Buddha, and its legends refer back to a period 2400

[1] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 102.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 367; Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire*, vol. i. p. 446.

[3] Many copies, all much surpassing the original indistinctness of "the sacred footstep," are to be found in Burmah, Ceylon, and other Buddhist countries.

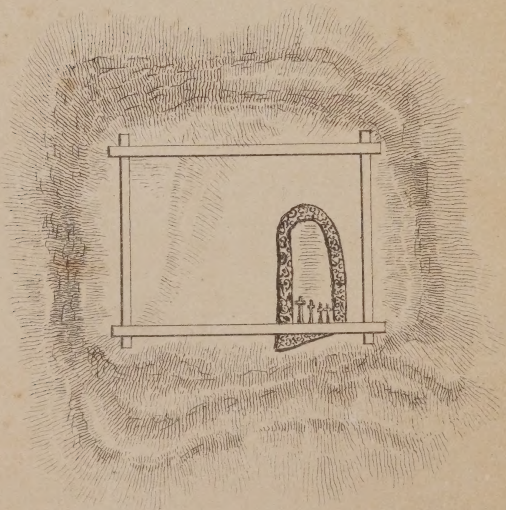
[4] The Buddhists hold the footstep as Buddha's; the Hindus as Siva's; the Mohammedans, and some who call themselves Christians, as Adam's.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delr

Kerr & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

Adam's Peak, Ceylon.
(7420 feet High.)

Summit of Adam's Peak, Ceylon.



Sacred Footstep on Adam's Peak.

From Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delr. Keith & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

years before that event, when it is said to have borne the name of "The Peak of the God."

In the church of St. Radegonde at Poictiers a small chapel called "Le pas de Dieu" is fenced with iron bars to protect the stone on which the footmark of our Saviour was impressed when he appeared here to St. Radegonde.

The Mohammedans of Egypt show a footprint of their prophet, which gives name to a village and mosque on the banks of the Nile.[1]

Herodotus mentions the impression of the foot of Hercules, two cubits in length, on a rock near the bank of the river Tyras in Scythia.[2]

Footmarks cut in rocks are common in many parts of India, and various causes are assigned for their execution. On a peak of Mount Aboo the mark of two feet cut in the rock are pointed out as the memorial of a saint. At another place I was told that a similar sculpture was in memory of the visit of a pious sovereign. In some districts they are said to mark the spots where widows have accomplished self-immolation.

Rocking-Stones.

"From Pelias' rites returned, they met their doom[3]—
Alcides' hand, which slew them, raised their tomb,
In Tenos' isle a mound of earth appear'd,
And one vast column on another rear'd.
Poised there by wondrous art, the stone above,
Touch'd by the northern blast is seen to move."[4]

[1] Attar-e-Nebbee. — Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 288.

[2] Herodotus, *Melpomene*, sec. lxxxii.

[3] Calais and Zethes.

[4] The original is in the *Argonautics* of Apollonius Rhodius, near the end of the first book. This

Regarding primitive monuments formed by rude masses of stone, simple in construction but difficult of execution, it seems natural to doubt, and it has not been uncommon to deny, that they are artificial. This may account for all rocking-stones[1] having been pronounced to be accidents of nature, and not what some of them certainly are—viz. monuments reared and arranged by human agency, although they may have been formed according to natural models.[2] Not only in the dark ages, but in later times, ignorance has assigned to giants the execution of such works, while the subtle scepticism of intelligence would alike deny to mortals the credit of their erection; yet in some instances it can be proved, and in others it is probable, that they are partly or entirely artificial.

In the third century B.C. the uppermost of two great stones placed on a sepulchral mound in the isle of Tenos was so balanced as to move with the force of the wind. Whether this rocking-stone crowned the tomb of Argonauts—of Zethes and Calais, or over whose ashes the monument was raised, is immaterial to the argument. The notice of Apollonius Rhodius is sufficient to prove that in his day that

translation is from Giles's *Ancient Britons*, vol. i. p. 405. Fawkes's translation is essentially similar. Pinkerton's prose translation is—"He slew them in sea-rounded Tenos, and raised a hillock about them; and placed two stones on the top, of which one (the admiration of men) moves to the sonorous breath of the northern wind.' (Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. i. p. 410). Both Giles and Pinkerton give the original Greek.

[1] Clach-brath, or judgment-stones of the Celts.—Smith's *Gaelic Antiquities*, 4to, 1780, pp. 70, 71.

Breith, irrevocable decree.—*Gaelic Dictionary.*

[2] Such as the rock at Harpasa in Caria, mentioned by Pliny.

rocking-stone was considered—as, indeed, from its position it must have been—an artificial monument.[1]

Fremenville describes a dolmen near Carnac in Brittany of which one of the superior stones vibrated on a pivot. He is of opinion that this movement was an intentional arrangement, and employed for purposes of divination. He also mentions a rocking-stone in the midst of Druidical remains at Tregunc'h,[2] between Concarneau and Pontáven. Souvestre intimates[3] that jealous husbands refer to this stone of divination, believing that if their suspicions be well founded it will remain immovable to their utmost force, although the finger of a child might set it in motion.

Claims to prescience on the part of the Druids, and the arts of divination practised by them and persevered in by Celtic races, account for the rocking-stones being termed "stones of ordeal." The existence of such a superstition in Armorica, although it may be extinct in other Celtic districts, is easily accounted for when we find that in the peninsula of Finistere and the adjacent islands Christianity was only enforced by the energetic missionary Michel-de-Nobletz in the seventeenth century.[4]

[1] The Aggle-stone barrow, in the isle of Purbeck, would appear to have been surmounted by a rocking-stone.—Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 118, quoting A. Kerman's *Archæological Index*, p. 34.

[2] Tregunc'h.—Fremenville's *Finistere*, p. 79.

[3] Souvestre's *Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. p. 114.

[4] He died on the 5th May 1652. His tomb, on which is a kneeling statue of the missionary, is in the church of Lochrist, near the extreme point of Finistere. Even in 1845 Fremenville, in his *Description of Finistere*, p. 206, attributes the preservation of remarkable Druidical monuments in the neighbourhood of Plounéour to the tenacity with which the inhabitants adhere to the pagan rites of their ancestors.

Within the stone circles in the Dekhan of India three or four stones are often placed and used for purposes of divination and ordeal.[1] Such also would appear to have been the number and objects of the stones placed in groups on the Sacred Promontory (Cape St. Vincent) described by Artemidorus.[2]

Rocking-stones, although more common in Scotland, were found also in Cornwall[3] and Wales, and in England and Ireland.[4] Whether erected by a Celtic people with a Druid

1 From personal observation, and papers by Dr. Stephenson of Bombay on the Anti-Brahmanical worship of the inhabitants of the Deckhan.

2 Preserved by Strabo, b. iii. c. i.

3 In Cornwall the Logan-stone, which is in weight upwards of sixty tons, was forcibly displaced, and with difficulty restored in 1824 by an officer of the navy.

The Pendre-stone, on the top of a hill near Bilston, is 10½ feet long, 4 broad, and 2½ thick. Norden adds—this "mightye stone will wagg with the wynde," and "a man with his little finger will easily stirr it." From the engraving in Norden's volume, p. 74, there appears to be a circle of stones around it. The rocking-stone of Manye-Amber, according to Norden, was 11 feet long, 5½ broad, and 6 deep, and a child might put it in motion. He adds his belief that it "was thus lefte at the general floude" (Norden, p. 48). It was afterwards overthrown by Shrubsall, governor of Pendennis under Cromwell.—Polwhele's *Cornwall*, vol. i.

4 In the district of Cumberland formerly included in Inglewood Forest, near Highhead Castle, was a rocking stone. In its vicinity was a circular mound, with columnar stones on its verge, and other primitive remains.—*Archæologia*, vol. ix.; Brayley and Britton's *England*, vol. iii. pp. 177-182.

On Hathersage Moor in Derbyshire were a rocking-stone and tumuli (*Archæologia*, vol. viii.; Brayley and Britton's *England*, vol. iii. p. 477). There was another rocking-stone on Ashover Common in Derbyshire.—*Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 43; Brayley and Britton's *England*, vol. iii. p. 536.

In the parish of Kirriemuir in Forfarshire, besides two rocking-stones, are many primitive remains—viz. tumuli, erect stones, and weems, in one of which a canoe was found.—*Notices of Plates to Sculptured Stones*, by Mr. John Stuart, p. 14.

Pennant mentions a Maen-sigl or rocking-stone on an eminence called Dinas, near Orm's Head, which could be moved by the slightest touch. It was surrounded by a fosse, had a formed road leading to it, and was near many primitive remains and

priesthood or not, the rocking-stones are now found, or their former positions known, principally in that part of the west of Europe where Celts and Druids longest existed, and where their other monuments and superstitions have been most enduring.

A brief description of the rocking-stone in the parish of Kirkmichael, Perthshire, with a list of the many primitive monuments by which it is surrounded,[1] serves to prove that the whole belonged to one form of heathenism, in which, as usual, the religious is found in connection with the sepulchral monument. To the secluded position of these ancient memorials, in a thinly-peopled and mountainous district near the centre of Scotland, it is owing that so many more of them have been there preserved than in groups situated where the utilitarian views of the agriculturist outweighed his superstition, and the value of the soil proved an irresistible temptation to the destruction of monuments, which were only regarded as impediments to cultivation. The rocking-stone at Kirkmichael rests on the plane surface of an earth-fast rock which is level with the surrounding ground. This is on the summit of an eminence surrounded at some distance by rocky hills of considerable height. The shape of the stone "is quadrangular, approaching to the figure of a rhombus, of which the greater diagonal is 7 feet and the lesser 5 feet." It is calculated to be in weight three tons. By pressing down either of the extreme corners, and withdrawing the pressure, a rocking motion is produced, which

foundations of the habitations of early inhabitants.—*Tour in Wales*, vol. iii. p. 152.

[1] Abridged from the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xv. pp. 516-520, by the Rev. Allan Stewart.

may be increased so much that there is the distance of a foot between the farthest points of oscillation. When the pressure is withdrawn the stone will continue in motion until it has made at least twenty-six vibrations. "There is every reason to suppose, from the form and relative position of the surrounding grounds, that this stone must have been placed in its present position by the labour of men." On the north side of the rocking-stone, at the distance of 60 yards, are two concentric stone circles. These are on a small eminence, and adjoining them on the east is a single circle. Beyond these, at 37 yards' distance, on another small eminence, are other two concentric circles, with a single one adjoining them on the east side. Beyond these, at 45 yards' distance, is a third pair of concentric circles, with the adjacent circle on the east. Farther on to the north-east, at the distance of 90 yards, is a single circle, and beside it on the west two rectangular enclosures of 37 feet by 12 ; also a cairn 23 or 24 yards in circumference and about 12 feet high in the centre. Several small cairns are scattered in the neighbourhood. At 120 yards west from the rocking-stone is a pair of concentric circles, with a small single circle beside them 7 feet in diameter. All these pairs of concentric circles are of the same dimensions, the inner one being about 32 and the outer about 45 feet in diameter, and all of them having a breach or doorway 4 or 5 feet wide on the south side. The single circles vary from 32 to 36 feet in diameter, and have no appearance of a doorway.

In the middle of an extensive and elevated heathy moor, and about a mile south-west from the rocking-stone, stands a

large cairn 90 yards in circumference and 25 feet high. Round this cairn are scattered at different distances a great number of smaller cairns, generally in groups of eight or ten. About a furlong to the westward of the great cairn are the distinct vestiges of two concentric circular fences of stone, the outer circle being 50 and the inner 32 feet in diameter. There are also remains of at least six circular inclosures of stone, from 32 to 36 feet in diameter, at different distances in the neighbourhood of the cairn. Two parallel stone fences extend from the east side of the cairn nearly in a straight line towards the south. This avenue is 300 feet in length and 32 in breadth, and towards the extremities is bounded by small cairns. All the cairns are partially covered with heath and moss.

"There are also several erect stones 5 or 6 feet in height, called in Gaelic Crom-leaca or Clach-shleuchda,[1] 'stones of worship,' for a superstitious regard is paid them by the people." The reverend author, himself the clergyman of the parish, also states in a note "the practice of lighting bonfires on the first night of winter, accompanied with various ceremonies, still prevails in this and the neighbouring Highland parishes. The custom, too, of making a fire in the fields, baking a consecrated cake, etc., on the 1st May, is not yet quite worn out."[2] "The vestiges of all these structures above described are perfectly distinct, and many of the stones still retain the erect posture in which all of them had probably

[1] Sleuchdadh, prostrating or reverently bowing down.—*Gaelic Dictionary.*

[2] This was in 1795.

been placed at first. Cairns and circles similar to those described are to be seen in other hills of this parish, particularly between Strath-Ardle and Glen Derby." The reverend author is no doubt correct in attributing the preservation of these extensive remains "to the elevated situation and cold exposure" having restricted the advance of agricultural improvement to more favourable localities.

On visiting the primitive remains near the rocking-stone of Kirkmichael I was inclined to believe that the double circles of stones had in many cases been the foundations of circular buildings, which were probably completed according to the method used by the Gauls in constructing their dwellings. But in the wild region where they are situated the object of attraction had evidently been the rocking-stone, of which comparatively little is now left, although enough remains to prove its original balance, and to excite regret at the mischievous exertions of two masons who so far accomplished its destruction.

In the remains of primitive monuments, stones, whether erected to define the limits of the consecrated area, as supports for an altar or as other portions of the structure, cannot now be distinguished from that which, although the most important, was probably not always in appearance the most imposing member of a heathen fane—viz. the stone, which we know in some cases, and may therefore conclude was in many others, the principal object of worship. In some places, it would appear, the belief was, that a deity resided in the stone; in others that it was a representation of the being

who was there acknowledged as present by his votaries. Oaths sworn on such stones were therefore naturally judged to be of peculiar sanctity, for the resident deity was considered bound to revenge himself on any one who first invoked and then defied him by perjury. The stones which continued and continue to be used to insure the sanctity of an oath or the fulfilment of a promise were probably at one time objects of worship, as they must still be of reverence to those who put faith in them. It is difficult to distinguish between this class of monuments and the memorial and inaugural stones which have already been considered.

In Scotland "the Black Stones of Iona" were so called, although of a grey colour, from the dread penalties which were supposed to attach to any one who swore falsely upon them. It was on them that the Kings of the Isles, on bended knees and with uplifted hands, swore to preserve inviolate the rights of their vassals.[1] In another of the Western Isles Martin describes a stone of a green colour, about the size of a goose's egg, on which, in cases of importance, the people were accustomed to take oaths. This stone was called "Baul-Mulay," and was then (in the end of the seventeenth century) preserved with great care by its hereditary guardian.[2] The same author mentions an altar and a blue stone in Fladda, an islet near the coast of Skye. On this stone the people were wont to swear in cases of peculiar interest; but it had other mystical properties besides the infliction of penalties on those who violated their oaths, for persons desirous of procuring a

[1] Martin's *Western Isles*, pp. 259, 260. [2] *Ibid.* p. 225.

fair wind poured water over this stone before proceeding on their voyage.[1] The "Stone of Odin," a portion of the celebrated monolithic monument at Stennis in Orkney, witnessed vows that were deemed peculiarly sacred.[2] In the same island in 1438 mention is made of individuals sworn on the Hirdman-Stein.[3] The stone of Plougoumelen, in the Pays de Vannes in Brittany, still insures the sanctity of an oath.

It is not difficult to account for stones of worship, which gave sanctity to an oath in times of paganism, being rarely found and fully identified: they were rude and unhewn, and unless remarkable for size, were not otherwise distinguishable. It is therefore only in the few places where heathen practices have been preserved by a continued succession of Christian votaries that we are enabled to identify such relics of our pagan ancestors.

[1] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 166.

[2] See detailed account of Stennis in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, pp. 99-102.

[3] From the power of the St. Clairs in Orkney one is almost tempted to ask if there could possibly be any connection between the name of this stone and an ancient possession of that family in the south of Scotland—viz. Herdmanston?

CHAPTER XIII.

CAIRNS AND BARROWS.[1]

Cairn a Tumulus formed of Stones—Barrow a Tumulus chiefly formed of Earth—Cairns, Sepulchral and Memorial, raised to commemorate Great Events, or to mark where Great Crimes were committed—Cairns in Caledonia used for Beltan Fires and other Heathen Ceremonies—Tumuli and Ancient Ceremonies on the Plain of Troy—Tumuli in India having Remains of Sacrifices similar to those of the Ancient Gauls—Cairns surmounted by Pillars—Borradh.—*Chambered Tumuli* used as Sepulchres—May not have been originally or exclusively intended for Sepulture—Chambered Tumulus of New Grange; of Gavr-Innis; at Maeshow.

THE word *cairn*[2] is here used to express a hillock or tumulus formed of loose stones; the word *barrow* to denote a similar memorial formed of earth, or of earth and of stones mixed. In many countries and in all ages, from the earliest until a comparatively recent period, these forms of tumuli were raised to distinguish places of sepulture. Some of them were surmounted by single pillars, some by a circle of rude columnar stones, and others had dolmens on their summits, or kistvaens, which probably served the double purpose of enclosing the remains of mortality, whilst they were also used

[1] Càrn, or Cairn, a heap or pile of stones; Carnach, or Cairneach, a Druid, a heathen priest, a priest; Bàrr, the top or summit of anything; Bàrpa, a rude conical heap of stones, a barrow; Borra, a prominence.—*Highland Society's Gaelic Dictionary.*

[2] Cairns are called in the Breton language "galgals."

as altars of sacrifice. But cairns were not always sepulchral; they were used as memorials of a compact or other remarkable event. They were also used for the religious ceremonies of the Druids.

The earliest record of a cairn is of that raised by Jacob at Mizpah, where he at the same time set up a pillar.[1] It is not mentioned whether the pillar was on the cairn, but as Jacob and his friends did eat and sacrificed on the heap we may infer that there was a level place at the top, and probably a tabular stone.

Some cairns were raised as marks of infamy and others as honourable memorials.[2] In Scotland some keep in remembrance the lone resting-place of the suicide,[3] others mark the spot where a murder was committed.[4] Some cairns were

1 Gen. xxxi. 45, 46, 49, 54.

2 Darius, by causing every one of his soldiers to throw a stone to one heap, raised an immense pile.—Herodotus, *Melpomene*, xcii.

3 The grave of a suicide which was pointed out to me many years ago was then marked by a small cairn. The story was, that in the early part of the eighteenth century the body of an unfortunate woman, a maniac, who had committed self-destruction, was refused Christian burial. After various ineffectual attempts to find a resting-place for the body, the friends of the deceased succeeded in interring it in a swamp where the boundary of two properties was ill-defined. This was in the parish of Auchterless in Aberdeenshire. The swamp, and the wild tract around it, are now cultivated fields. The story of the poor maniac is possibly unknown to any but myself, and I have forgotten her name; yet after a lapse of more than fifty years I could, notwithstanding the whole face of the country is entirely changed, point out the then lonely spot and unhallowed grave to which, perhaps, a heartless world, and certainly a cruel superstition, had consigned the remains of a fellow-mortal.

4 In Angus, when any person has been murdered, a cairn is erected on the spot.—Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, article "Cairn."

The cairn at the foot of Arthur's Seat, where Nicol Muschat murdered his wife, has been made widely known by Sir W. Scott's *Heart of Mid-Lothian*.

piled high over the grave of a distinguished leader, others only mark the places where his followers rested the bier while conveying the corpse of the chief to the tomb of his ancestors.[1]

In Ceylon,[2] in Palestine, in Syria,[3] and in various countries of Europe, up to the extreme north of Scotland, it was the custom for every passenger to add a stone to the cairn. An ancient Gaelic saying—equivalent to "I will add a stone to your cairn," meaning "I will honour your memory,"[4]—applies to honorary tumuli. It was different with those which testified of crimes committed: when a passenger threw a stone on them it was customary to use an expression equivalent to "A heap on thy head," or "Ill betide thee;"[5] and it was to such monuments that the malediction applied "May you have a cairn for your burying-place." The "great heap of stones" raised over the body of the king of Ai[6] seems to have been intended partly as a posthumous insult to the remains of an enemy, partly as a memorial of the indiscriminate butchery of women and children, as well as of men, in which the victor gloried.

Cairns and tumuli of various descriptions, from the earliest ages until a comparatively late period, were used in Scotland

[1] This practice is referred to in Campbell's ballad of "Glenara." Crosses succeeded cairns for this and other purposes; and in England we have the remains of the most noted example of such memorials in the crosses which Edward I. caused to be erected wherever the body of Queen Eleanor rested between Grantham and Westminster.

[2] Forbes' *Ceylon*, vol. i. p. 239.

[3] Kitto's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 360.

[4] Pennant's *Hebrides*, pp. 206-209. "I will *carefully* lay a stone on your cairn."—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvi. p. 208.

[5] Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*.

[6] Josh. viii. 29.

to distinguish places of sepulture. The practice certainly continued down to the fifteenth century—to A.D. 1411—as one of the cairns, that of Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, still remains, although many others have within a century disappeared from the battle-field of Harlaw, fought in that year.

There is not sufficient evidence to enable any one to form a decided opinion as to whether there was a class of cairns originally designed for and exclusively devoted to religious purposes. But there can be no doubt that cairns were used for heathen rites by the Celtic and many other nations. The fires which gleamed [1] over Celtic countries at the festivals of Beltane, Midsummer, and Hallowe'en were often raised on cairns. Whether it was from that circumstance that these fires derived the name by which they were often known in Scotland—viz. "carnfires"—may be disputed. But they were so called;[2] and in Gaelic Cairneach, Carneichean, and Carnach signifies a Druid and a priest. Calcined and vitrified stones on cairns on heights and hills in Scotland bear witness to the service to which these heaps were once dedicated.

At Strathfillan in Perthshire there was a practice of bringing lunatics to a certain cairn, and after leading the patient three times deasil—*i.e.* sunwise—round the heap, immersing him in a contiguous pool which was deemed sacred. The ceremony, by which it was expected to restore the sense of the maniac, was completed by leaving a fragment of his clothing

[1] Beltane-fires are, I perceive, still lighted—viz. in 1865—in Aberdeenshire.

[2] Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire*, vol. ii. p. 406.

as an offering on the cairn.[1] In the island of South Uist there are certain large cairns round which it was customary for the inhabitants to make a religious progress on Sundays and other holidays.[2] These processions always circled round the cairn three times, according to the direction of the sun's apparent course.

The most numerous class of primitive remains in India regarding which we have accurate details are cairns and tumuli. In the size of these, as well as in their external and internal formation, there is considerable variety. On the summit of the largest there are sometimes rude single pillars, slabs, and monolithic columns, so arranged that there can be little doubt that they encircled a spot used as a place of sacrifice or for purposes of worship.[3] Alexander the Great sacrificed to the manes of Achilles and Ajax, and at their tombs on the plain of Troy performed the rites and ceremonies proper to the veneration of such heroes. From some of these ceremonies, as described by ancient authors, we may be assured that the aborigines of India could have had no more absurd and indecent rites than those in which Alexander officiated at the tomb of Achilles. One of these ceremonies, like the arrangement of the tumulus on which it was performed, was, there is little doubt, common to the Macedonians and to the uncivilised inhabitants of the Indian peninsula, whose descendants, as well as the intrusive

[1] Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 15.

[2] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 85.

[3] Tumuli of all these varieties are found in Britain and Armorica.

Hindus,[1] still continue the practice to this day. I allude to Alexander pouring out libations and anointing with oil the pillar on the tomb of Achilles.[2]

It is probable that rites and sacrifices were continued on the tumuli of the Dekhan of India until not only the names of the individuals but the nation which reared these sepulchres had passed into oblivion. This, however, is but conjecture founded on analogy; but late and careful examination of the interior of the cairns has shown that some of them contain the promiscuous remains of human victims heaped in confusion over the kistvaen of one who by accident or merit had in life been exalted and in death been honoured beyond less fortunate compeers. The relative position as well as the nature of the remains leaves no reason to doubt that human victims of both sexes and various ages were sacrificed to the manes of individuals[3] whose bodies were deposited in stone cists beneath the mass of uncoffined and confused mortality that lay above, and had been devoted to death by power and superstition. Some of these mounds received the ashes, and in others were deposited corporeal remains which had never undergone cremation; while the spirit that had animated

[1] This appears also to have been the practice of the Jewish patriarchs and their predecessors in Canaan.—Gen. xxxv. 14.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, b. xvii. c. ii.; Freinshemius' *Supplement to Quintus Curtius.*

The sepulchral mounds of two argonauts—viz. Zethes and Calais—were surmounted by pillars.—Apollonius Rhodius, b. i.

Near Troy there was a pillar on the tumulus of Ilus, the great-grandson of Dardanus.

[3] *Journals of the Branches of the Royal Asiatic Society at Madras and Bombay,* particularly that of the branch at Bombay of January 1853.

the deceased was supposed again to become incarnate, in fulfilment of punishment or in progress to a happy destiny.

In tumuli of the Dekhan of India, although evidently raised by the same tribe or nation, contiguous graves are sometimes found to contain urns with ashes, while others show that the body had been deposited entire. This is noways extraordinary, as even now in some Eastern nations certain ranks are permitted to burn and others are compelled to bury their dead.[1]

There is a striking coincidence not only in the mounds and monolithic structures of the Celts and aboriginal inhabitants of the table-land of the Indian peninsula, but also in the barbarous sacrifices which they offered on the tombs of their chiefs at the ceremony of interment. The contents of some of the tumuli just described bear witness that rites once practised in the Dekhan were analogous to what we learn from Cæsar took place amongst the Gauls, who at a funeral sacrificed slaves, dependants, and whatever had been most regarded by the deceased. Even in Cæsar's time the Gauls consumed in the funeral pyre not only the articles but the animals in which the deceased had taken pleasure. Pomponius Mela says that accounts, and even claims for debts, were consigned to the custody of deceased persons by the Gauls.

The funeral rites of Patroclus, as described by Homer,[2] seem to have been of the same description as those of the Gauls. Young Trojan captives, coursers, and dogs appear to

[1] This distinction was maintained in the interior of Ceylon long after the British became its rulers.

[2] *Iliad*, b. xxiii.

have been sacrificed to accompany the departed spirit; the sheep and oxen only to have been slaughtered that their fat might anoint the corpse.

Saint Michael's Mount, about half a mile from the stone avenues of Carnac, is an artificial cairn 80 feet in height, on which the church of the archangel is believed to have superseded the altar of Bel. A high pillar, on which are some very ancient Christian sculptures, also stands on the summit of the mount, and was probably in heathen times an unhewn column, such as may still be perceived on other artificial mounts of less size on the plains of Carnac. Similar examples are to be met with in Britain, and one still remains near the village of Foulis in Perthshire, where a cairn of large size is surmounted by a great columnar stone.[1]

A cairn at Clunemore in Blair Athol, of considerable height and about 100 feet in diameter, had on its summit one or more large slabs, beside which stood two upright stones described in a communication to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1787 as the two side-stones of the altar. This cairn was called Sithain-na-Cluana, "the Fairy Hill of Clune." Another cairn of larger size stood about a mile distant, and was called Tulchan. Between these two great cairns was a line of small cairns.[2]

At Pitscandlie in Forfarshire are two large pillars on the top of an artificial mound. They appear to be the remains of a "Druidical" circle.[3]

[1] Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 449; and *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 474.

[3] Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, appendix to the preface, p. xix.

Tumulus with Stone Pillar, near Carnac, Brittany.

M.Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Keith & Gibb Lithog.rs Aberdeen

A variety of the sepulchral cairn, called borradh,[1] is in external form an elongated oval. The following description of the interior of one of the most perfect of these monuments is taken from the *Old Statistical Account* of the parish of Kilfinan in Argyleshire :[2]—"Although much dilapidated," by carrying off the stones for building purposes, "enough remains to show distinctly what it once was. It is situated on the top of an eminence about one and a half miles from the parish church. This immense pile of stones was, till last summer (viz. of 1794), near 40 yards long, of considerable breadth and amazing depth. At the bottom, from the one end to the other, there was a number of small apartments or cells, end to end, each made up of five or seven large flags. Each cell was about 6 feet long, 4 broad, and such of them as remained to be seen in our time about 5 feet high. One large flag made up each side, and another, which was generally of a curved figure to throw off the water, covered it for a roof. The end sometimes was made up of two, and an open between them wide enough for a man to squeeze himself through. Sometimes there was only one flag in the end, and only half as high as the side flags, so that the entry was over it; and in these there were only five flags. The borradh were generally built on an eminence where the fall of the water was from thence on either side, and when that was not the case the cells were at some distance from the bottom of the pile. The cells were not always in a straight line from end to end, but they were always so regular that the same communication

[1] Borradh, Gaelic, a protuberance. [2] Vol. xiv. pp. 257-259.

prevaded the whole." Another borradh, of less size and more dilapidated, existed in the same parish.

Similar chains of cells contained in cairns or barrows have been discovered in various parts of England.[1]

Similar in design to the chambered cairns in the parish of Kilfinan above described are those in the parish of Baldernock in Stirlingshire. On Craigmaddie Moor were several cairns, some of an oblong and others of a circular form. One of the latter, which had not been disturbed (this was in 1795), was about 80 yards in circumference. Two of the cairns had been broken up, and "at the bottom were large stones placed on edge, in two parallel rows, at the distance of between 3 and 4 feet, lidded over with flags laid across; the cavity thus formed being divided by partitions into cells of 6 or 7 feet long. In one of the long cairns were found fragments of a coarsely-fabricated urn and some pieces of human bones."[2] It may be remarked that in this parish[3] is a dolmen of the most primitive form, consisting only of three ponderous masses of stone—viz. a table-stone 18 feet long, 11 broad, and 7 deep, supported by two others of nearly the same size. It is called "The Old Wives' Lift," and superstitious ceremonies connected with it are referred to in the chapter on "Dolmens," and in that on "Superstitions common to the Celts of Western Europe and the Inhabitants of Central Asia."

[1] At Uley in Gloucestershire; at Fairy's Toote, Somersetshire (King's *Monumenta Antiqua*, vol. i. pp. 293, 294); at Stoney-Littleton, Somersetshire.—*Archæologia*, vol. xix; Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 55.

[2] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xv. p. 279.

[3] It is situated about a mile to the northward of the church of Baldernock.

Chambered Tumuli.

These might in many cases be classed under the head of "Cairns and Barrows," but in some of these monuments their magnitude, Cyclopean materials, and certain peculiarities of construction, demand a separate notice. The most remarkable monuments of this kind at present known in Western Europe are New Grange and Dowth, situated near the river Boyne in Ireland; that on Gavr-Innis, an island in the Morbihan Sea, in Brittany; and Maeshow, near the stone circles and lake of Stennis in Orkney.

Neither historical evidence,[1] nor that derived from an examination of these monuments, appears sufficient warrant for the decision that all these chambers were exclusively intended for places of sepulture. Certainly in some of these chambers the massive materials used in their construction have apparently been designed and employed for other purposes. The following questions are suggested by peculiarities in these specimens of chambered tumuli—Were they intended to be occupied by the living or as sepulchres for the dead? Were they originally used as temples, and afterwards turned into tombs? Or, on the contrary, although raised for tombs, were they afterwards used as habitations? Were they places for mysterious ceremonies and religious sacrifices, which at later periods were turned into places of sepulture? Or were they intended for sepulchres where mysterious rites were to be continued on behalf of the persons whose ashes or remains were there entombed?

[1] Such as the *Irish Annals*, particularly those of Ulster and of the Four Masters.

An examination of the remarkable tumuli above mentioned gives rise to the above questions, and they are not answered by any theories or explanations regarding these monuments which have yet been offered to the public. It may be admitted, although it cannot be proved, that all or most of these monuments have at some period been used as sepulchres,[1] and that the mound of stones or earth in which they are enveloped is sepulchral. But these mounds may have been heaped by later generations over Cyclopean monuments erected by a prior race. Being thus transformed into tombs, they may have been adopted as models for sepulchres of later erection.

In New Grange, Gavr-Innis, and other places, sculptures, elaborately executed, have been placed in positions where, unless exposed to remote ages by accidents of time, they must have been for ever hid, while large portions, both of the chamber and gallery of approach, were left without ornament.

What are usually called sarcophagi in the chamber at New Grange may more correctly be designated as very shallow trays of a circular or rather oval form. In the eastern recess there are two—one placed above another of somewhat larger dimensions, the uppermost being 3 feet long. The position and appearance of all of them are very unlike anything intended for the reception of sepulchral deposits.

New Grange tumulus was surrounded at a few yards' dis-

[1] There is no authentic record of human remains having been discovered either in New Grange, in the tumulus of Gavr-Innis, or in that of Maeshow.

tance by a circle of columnar stones of great size, ten of which still remain. May this not have been a devotional cromlech within which the tumulus was raised? and may not the gallery and chamber have existed long previous to the cairn being piled over it? The existence here of a devotional cromlech, including within its limits a space of two acres, would account for the other remarkable tumuli with which it is surrounded; for Avebury, Stonehenge, Carnac, and other remarkable primitive monuments, seem to have had the power of attracting to their vicinity the sepulchres of those who we may presume were the most notable of the nation within whose territories the great cromlechs were situated.

In a few of the interstices between the large stones of the gallery and chamber on Gavr-Innis fragments of sculptured stones have been inserted, and are apparently in their original position. These do not appear to be portions of any broken member of the present monument. In the centre of one of the great upright stones which form the sides of the chamber at Gavr-Innis a basin has been scooped out, leaving two pieces of the front of the stone, behind which the recess is continued, and to which there are thus three small openings sufficient to admit a hand and arm. The two intermediate parts of the stone between the openings appear as if worn by continued friction. Allowing that such a recess might be accounted for as designed to hold material comforts for an unembodied spirit, it still remains to be explained, if this were exclusively a tomb, whence came the marks of friction on the

divisions between the apertures by which the basin is reached?[1]

On the plain of Carnac are remains rising above the waste and stony heath which, although of somewhat less size and unsculptured, only want a mound heaped over them to be exact resemblances of the gallery and chamber of Gavr-Innis, of which they are within a few miles, the intervening country abounding in primitive monuments.[2] There are also weems in Scotland over which had a cairn or mound been raised the resemblance to the chambered tumuli would have been complete.

The following are a few particulars regarding the three most remarkable of the chambered tumuli above mentioned—viz. New Grange in Ireland,[3] Gavr-Innis in Brittany, and Maeshow in Orkney. New Grange cairn is about 70 feet in height, and is said to cover an area nearly two acres in extent. Composed of loose stones, slightly covered with earth and partly overgrown with trees, this mound formerly had little appearance of being artificial, except that at a few yards' distance it was encircled by a line of single stones of great size fixed upright in the ground. The entrance to the chamber in this mound was accidentally discovered in 1699

[1] Weld says that these divisions, polished apparently by friction, suggested the idea that beings intended for sacrifice were chained to these handles.—Weld's *Vacation in Brittany*, p. 271.

[2] In the department of La Manche in Normandy, on the hill of Grosses-Roches, three galleries are described of the same type as those on the plain of Carnac—viz. of unhewn stones of great size, forming the upright sides which support a roof of similar materials.

[3] The measurements of New Grange are quoted principally from Wylde's *Boyne and Blackwater* and Wakeman's *Irish Antiquities*.

Tumulus of New-Grange, County Meath.

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Fr Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Entrance to Chamber, New-Grange Tumulus.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delt

Keith & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen

by labourers who were removing stones to repair a neighbouring road. From the entrance a gallery, on a level with the original surface, extends about 50 feet, and terminates in a chamber with three recesses, one opposite to the gallery and one on each side, which gives a cruciform character to the ground plan. The length of the gallery, with the chamber and recess opposite, is 75 feet. Its direction is nearly north and south. The breadth of the chamber, including the eastern and western recesses, is 20 feet.

At the entrance the gallery is 4 feet high;[1] its breadth 3 feet 2 inches at the top, and 3 feet 5 inches at the base. These dimensions are retained for a distance of 21 feet, except at one place where the stones have been pressed inwards. After reaching 21 feet the gallery gradually increases in height until it is 18 feet high, where it becomes a chamber, the highest point of which is 20 feet. The gallery is formed of upright blocks of stone, with others laid horizontally across for a roof. The walls of the chamber are also of immense upright blocks of stone, and its roof of similar masses laid horizontally, each course above projecting beyond that on which it rests until the summit is closed by one stone.

In each of the three recesses of the chamber were the shallow trays already mentioned, which by different writers have been variously designated as "basins," "rude bowls,"

[1] Below the entrance to this gallery is placed a stone sculptured with connected convolute figures. The same kind of ornament appears on a stone found amidst a heap which had once been a "Picts'-house" in the island of Eday, Orkney. This stone is now in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities.

"urns," "typical urns," "sarcophagi." There was one in the northern and one in the western recess, but the most remarkable are two in the eastern recess. The uppermost of these is somewhat oval in shape, slightly concave on its surface, and 3 feet in length : in it are two small artificial cavities. This tray lies on another, which is rather larger and less concave than that which rests on it. The tray in the western recess, although but slightly hollowed, has a well-defined rim on the edge of the upper surface. On the sides and roof of this monument are many sculptures, none of them, however, representing any form of animate beings or aught of artificial construction. These sculptures may be mythical, but have more the appearance of being ornamental.

New Grange was first described by Edward Llhuyd the antiquary, who, writing in 1699, makes no mention of any human remains being found in it, but notes "a great many bones of beasts and some pieces of deers' horns" lying under foot. There are good reasons for believing that this chamber had been opened and ransacked at a remote period. This event has been fixed by eminent Irish antiquaries as having occurred in A.D. 862. In that year, they gather from the *Annals of Ulster* and *Annals of the Four Masters*, that Amlaff, Imar, and Auisle, three leaders of the Northmen, ravaged the district in which these monuments are situated, and broke into and plundered the caves or sepulchres of certain kings whose names are given in the annals, but whose eras are of unknown antiquity or of doubtful inference.

These details regarding New Grange render it unnecessary

Gavr Innis, Morbihan Sea.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

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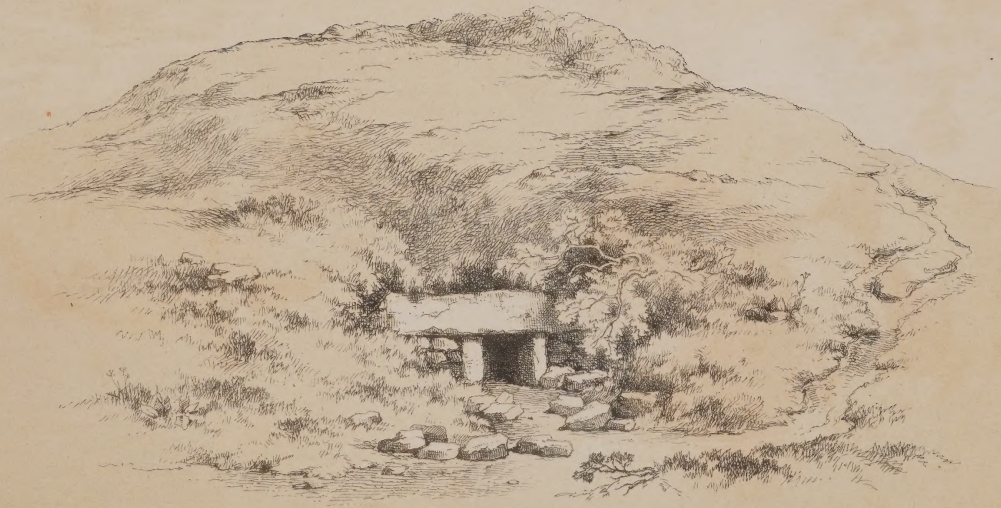


Entrance to Tumulus, Garr Innis.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delt

Keith & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

to give a particular account of Dowth, which is a cairn and chambered tumulus of somewhat less dimensions externally and internally. This monument is situated about a mile from New Grange, and was carefully opened and examined in 1847 under the superintendence of a committee of the Royal Irish Academy. The most remarkable difference was, that in Dowth fragments of burned human bones were discovered. There were also unburned bones of horses, oxen, pigs, deer, and birds, and fragments of glass and jet ornaments. The care taken in opening and examining this monument may account for vestiges of human beings being found in it, whilst there is no authentic record of such remains being discovered at New Grange.

The chamber in the tumulus at Gavr-Innis is 70 feet in length; or rather, from the chamber, which is about 8 feet square and 6 feet high, a gallery, gradually diminishing in height and breadth, extends for upwards of 60 feet until near the entrance, where it is only 4 feet high and about the same in breadth. The entrance is only 3½ feet high. In the sculptures with which the stones of the chamber are covered the only representation of known objects, animate or inanimate, are serpents, knives, and figures somewhat resembling stone hatchets or celts. The tumulus, which is of earth and stones, rises to a height of about 30 feet above the original surface of the ground. No human remains are described as having been found in this monument.

The chamber in the earthen tumulus of Maeshow in Orkney certainly gives the impression of being of much later

construction than those at New Grange, Dowth, or Gavr-Innis. This, however, may be owing to the form of the stones of which it is composed. No kind of mortar has been employed in this or any other of these chambered tumuli. The immense slabs used in this monument seem to have been raised from neighbouring quarries, and their naturally even sides and square edges give to the materials an appearance of having been artificially shaped, and to the masonry a more modern look than is perhaps warranted by its uncemented walls and roof of the same primitive form and construction as those on the banks of the Boyne and on the verge of the Morbihan Sea.

The tumulus of Maeshow is a conical mound with a depression on one side near the summit, which points to where it had been opened at some remote period. The mound is upwards of 90 feet in diameter and about 36 high.[1] At a distance of 86 feet from the base it is surrounded by a trench 20 feet wide and 4 or 5 deep, the whole being covered with a peculiarly rich green sward.

When Maeshow was opened by Mr. Farrar[2] in the summer of 1861 it was found to contain a chamber which had been reached from the outside by a passage of 53 feet in

[1] These dimensions are generally taken from Mr. Petrie of Kirkwall's accurate measurements, published in his letter to the editor of the *Orcadian* newspaper of the 20th July 1861.

[2] By the indefatigable exertions and liberal expenditure of James Farrar, Esq., M.P. for South Durham, and of Mr. Balfour of Balfour and Trenaby, the proprietor, this most interesting monument has been examined, and some of its secrets disclosed by means of the numerous names with which its walls were found covered. This, although the most interesting, is only one of many archæological discoveries of importance which have been lately made in Orkney through the munificence and public spirit of these gentlemen.

length.[1] This passage is lined, roofed, and paved with stone slabs, the largest of which measured 19 feet in length, 4½ feet in breadth, and 4½ inches in thickness. The passage increases in height from the entrance, where it is only 2 feet 4 inches to 4 feet 8 inches, where it enters the middle of one of the four sides of a chamber which is 15 feet square, and has, when complete, been about 20 feet high in the centre. The walls of this chamber are perpendicular for about 6 feet, after which the slabs, which generally extend the whole length of a side, project beyond the courses on which they rest, until in this way the roof has been completed in the shape of an inverted pyramid formed of successive steps.

The chamber had previously been broken into from the top, and the upper part demolished; so that when opened in 1861 only 13 feet of the walls remained, and the sides at that height approached within 10 feet of each other.

Four buttresses occupy the four corners of the chamber. They are at the base from 2 to 3 feet square, but being perpendicular on the inner sides, while the chamber is diminished in each succeeding course of masonry, the buttresses disappear somewhere about 10 feet from the floor.

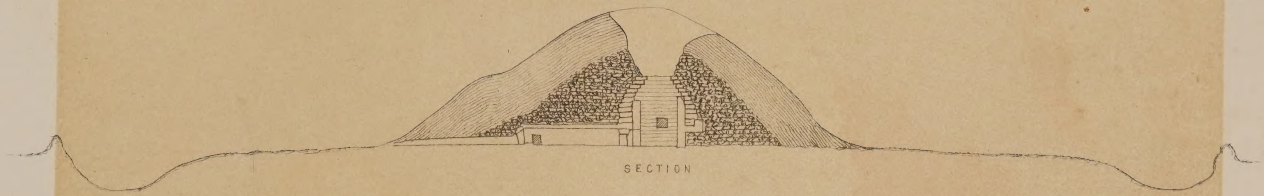
In the chamber wall, opposite to the entrance-passage and

	Length.	Width.	Height.
	Ft. In.	Ft. In.	Ft. In.
[1] Passage leading into the chamber . . .	22 6	2 4	2 4
	26 0	3 3	4 4
	2 4	2 5	4 4
	2 10	3 4	4 8
Total length .	53 8		

in the centre of the other two sides, at a height of about 3 feet from the floor, are entrances, each leading to a recess or cell. The largest of these cells is in the right-hand side-wall as you enter the chamber. It is 6 feet 10 inches in length, 4 feet 7 in breadth, 3 feet 6 in height, and is reached by an entrance 2 feet 6 inches wide and 2 feet 9 inches high. The wall between the cell and the chamber is 1 foot 8 inches thick.

There is no material difference in the position, size, or form of the other two cells, only they are about 1 foot less in length. That in the middle, as well as the one in the right-hand wall, has a floor raised the thickness of the slab beyond the entrance, and the floor, the roof, and the back-wall of each of these recesses is formed of one slab.

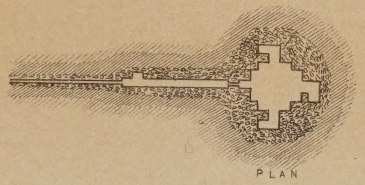
Runes of various sizes and forms, to the number of more than nine hundred, are carved on the sides and buttresses of the chamber. A winged animal is also sculptured. It is designed with much spirit, and exactly resembles forms of lions and leopards which may be commonly seen in sculptures of some Asiatic nations. There are two or three other sculptures of apparently nondescript creatures; but from the date to which these sculptures must be referred they cannot affect the origin of the primitive monument in which they are found. These inscriptions give no insight into the period when, or the purpose for which, Maeshow was erected. They record names probably of those who forcibly entered, and certainly of those who occasionally occupied, this chamber about the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The difficulty of reaching



SECTION

Scale of Feet

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET



PLAN

Plan & Section of Chamber and Gallery at Maeshowe, Orkney.

Keith & Gibb Lithog.rs Aberdeen.

the chamber by breaking in from the summit of the tumulus shows that the early intruders who thus entered had no knowledge of the original entrance. The same remark applies to the chamber of the tumulus on Gavr-Innis. The entrance to New Grange was discovered by accident.

CHAPTER XIV.

STRONGHOLDS OF THE CALEDONIANS.

Strongholds of the Early Inhabitants—Vitrified masses in the Remains of some Ancient Forts and Cairns—Construction of the Forts and Houses of the Early Inhabitants.—*Picts' Houses or Burghs*—Their Form and Construction—The Nuraghés.—*Crannoges*—Lake Dwellings.—*Weems*—Subterraneous Apartments—Store-houses, and Places of Concealment.—*Mod*—Tom-a-Mhoid—Moat or Moot-hills, Artificial Hills or Mounds on which justice was administered—Maiden Castles.—*Rock-Basins*—Rock-Basin on Ben New.

Dun, Dune, Caer, Keir, Rath, Roth, Fortress, Camp, or Castle.

THESE Celtic names, and their equivalents in English, describe places of defence which existed simultaneously with the primitive stone monuments. Occupied, if not reared by the same race, it is of consequence, for the elucidation of other portions of these chapters, to give a brief notice of these strongholds, and also of the towns, habitations, Picts' houses, crannoges or lake dwellings, weems or subterraneous apartments, and the mod or moot-hills, places of judgment and assembly for the ancient inhabitants of Caledonia.

The strongholds of the early inhabitants of Britain were situated either in forests or occasionally on the slopes but generally on the summits of hills. In Aberdeenshire several fine examples of these entrenched positions still remain,

Hill Fortress, Malvern Hills.

Dr Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Keith & Gibb Lithog.rs Aberdeen.

in the immediate neighbourhood of the most interesting and numerous of the rude stones on which are sculptured Caledonian hieroglyphics. The most remarkable of these forts are Dun-Echt,[1] Keig, Top-o-Noath, Dunedeir,[2] Barra,[3] Maiden Castle, Top-of-Benachie, Keir-Hill of Skene, Boyndie, Keirn. These, and others of less note, are in Aberdeenshire, but are evidently coeval with the Caterthuns[4] of Strathmore, the Herefordshire Beacon on the Malvern Hills, the Caers of Wales and Armorica, the Duns and Cathairs of Connaught and Munster, the Rath-Righ of Tara, and innumerable others in the Celtic countries of Western Europe. By their circular form, several concentric walls, the absence of cement in the stone-work, and other marked characteristics, they are easily distinguished from entrenchments exclusively or originally of Roman design. In this circular form, and built of uncemented stones, is

> "Mayburgh's mound and stones of power,[5]
> By Druids raised in magic hour."

Not only in Top-o-Noath and Dunedeir, but in many other ancient forts, vitrified matter holds together lumps composed

[1] Commonly called the Barmekyn.

[2] The walls round Top-o-noath and Dunedeir are partly vitrified.

[3] There is a description of Barra Hill, with a plan and sections of the fort, in Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 91.

[4] The two Caterthuns are particularly fine examples of the ancient Caledonian fortress. Plans and descriptions of them will be found in Roy's *Military Antiquities* and in King's *Munimenta Antiqua*. The Caterthuns are also described in Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 89.

[5] *The Bridal of Triermain.* Mayburgh, near Penrith and the river Eamont in Cumberland, has either combined in itself a stronghold for defence and a temple for religion, or more probably was successively used for these purposes by different races or at different eras. It is a great circular rampart, formed of loose stones,

of many stones; but there is perhaps nothing in the appearance of these masses inconsistent with the conclusion that the vitrification in the remains of Caledonian forts may be an incidental and not a designed effect;[1] so that "vitrified sites" might be a more appropriate designation than "vitrified forts." Still, it must be admitted that some very cogent reasons have been urged in favour of the position that the vitrification of the walls was designedly executed, and formed an original part of the system of construction of these fortresses.

We learn from Cæsar that the Gauls were less accomplished in the mysteries of their religion than the Druids of Britain. The same writer informs us that the Gauls were skilful in every description of mining; and from many sources we know that the inhabitants of Britain were not inferior to them in that respect. As the Caledonians could frame chariots and waggons, they could have found no difficulty in joining beams into a framework such as that which formed so considerable a portion of the inner walls of the towns in Gaul; and as Cæsar informs us that the buildings of the Britons closely resembled those of the Gauls,[2] it is probable

enclosing a space about 100 yards in diameter. In the centre of this area stands an unhewn column 12 feet high. At no very remote period three other such stones stood near the centre, and four others near the entrance, which is on the east side. Now, a single tree rises beside the centre stone, and the rampart is shaded by trees that grow on and around this curious mouument. Near Mayburgh is an earthen rampart outside and surrounding a fosse, an arrangement which shows that it was not intended as a place of defence. It is called the "Penrith Round-Table," and is noticed by Sir Walter Scott, along with Mayburgh, in *The Bridal of Triermain*, canto i. sec. vii.

[1] The question of vitrified forts is considered in the article on "Strongholds," in Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*, pp. 413-418.

[2] Cæsar, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxi.

Top of Noath, Aberdeenshire.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Delr

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that the walls of British strongholds were in some cases at least similar to those of their Celtic neighbours. The walls of the towns in Gaul described by Cæsar were formed of beams 40 feet in length, mortised into each other, and fixed both longitudinally and vertically, but leaving between the cross-beams openings which were afterwards filled up with stones and cement. The destruction by fire of houses formed, as the Caledonian were, of inflammable materials, and attached to such walls, which would assist the conflagration, may partly account for the detached vitrified masses found in some ancient Caledonian forts.[1] In the low country the towns of the Celtic inhabitants of Britain seem to have closely resembled their strongholds on the hills; with this difference, that the defence of the towns was secured by an enclosure of felled[2] trees and a rampart of earth, which served in place of the more durable materials generally to be found on the high grounds selected for the strongest entrenched positions.[3] Within the various concentric walls and ramparts on the hills and in the forests were ranged the houses and huts of the inhabitants. These were formed after the manner of the

[1] The remains of vitrification in such ruins as I have seen are always in detached lumps or masses.

[2] The impenetrable nature of defences formed of felled trees and branches properly arranged can hardly be imagined by persons who have never seen this species of rampart. They are the common fortifications, and serve in place of walls to towns and villages in Guzerat and various other parts of Western India.

[3] The fortifications of the steep and rocky hills where Caractacus made his last and unsuccessful stand against the Romans, in the middle of the first century, is described by Tacitus, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxvi., and from that, and the account of the assault, we find that the ramparts were formed of loose stones. The position altogether closely resembled the hill-forts of Caledonia.

Gauls[1]—that is, of logs and wattles thickly covered with thatch.[2] It is evident from this description of the houses and towns of the inhabitants of Britain 1900 years ago, that they had no deficiency of implements wherewith to fell trees and do the heavier labours of carpentry; while the possession and capability of using finer tools, and executing works requiring greater skill, is shown by the description of their war-chariots, and by the remains of huge and highly-finished canoes. From the position in which some of these canoes have been found, they were probably formed hundreds of years before the Romans visited Britain and described the war-chariots of its inhabitants.[3]

The remains of a Celtic fortified town at Greaves-ash, in the county of Northumberland, have lately been carefully examined, described,[4] and delineated in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club,* 1861. They consist of the external and other concentric walls of defence, and enclose the foundations of groups of circular huts. These are what more or less distinctly, and with modifications arising from the varieties of ground, may be traced in all parts of the United Kingdom where the Celtic race have had their latest existence. All such discoveries and descriptions only tend more and more to prove the correctness of the notices of our ancestors by the classic authors, and to increase our faith in

[1] Cæsar, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* xxxi.

[2] Strabo, *Ibid.* vii.; Diodorus Siculus, *Ibid.* ii.

[3] Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland,* pp. 30-38; Chalmers' *Caledonia,* vol. i. pp. 100, 101.

[4] By G. Tate, Esq., F.G.S., and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

those portions of their accounts which cannot be corroborated by material remains.

Picts' Houses, Duns, or Burghs.

Picts' houses of the simplest form seem only to differ in size, and in somewhat more careful construction, from habitations not only occasionally used, but lately erected, by the inhabitants in some remote parts of the Western Isles of Scotland.[1] These appear to be similar to buildings, cathairs and clochans, of which good examples still remain in the islets and on the western coast of Ireland.[2] The ground plan of these buildings, whether great or small, is circular. The elevation is a kind of dome, and the general form closely resembles a beehive. This arises from the construction; as the wall converges by each succeeding course of stones projecting inwards and beyond the former, until space is sufficiently contracted to be covered by one stone. Such a mode of building and the materials—viz. stones without any kind of cement—point to an *origin* of remote antiquity. Some of the Picts' houses, of more elaborate construction, may be a development of the primitive model erected at a later period, or possibly those of inferior design and execution may be degenerate imitations of the superior and earlier model.

Judging from the foundations of the dwellings of the

[1] Papers and Plates by Captain Thomas, R.N., descriptive of the beehive houses of the Western Isles, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iii. part. i. pp. 127-144.

[2] Clochans are described in Petrie's and Wakeman's works on Irish Antiquities; by Noyer in the *Archæological Journal* for March 1858; and in Wilde's *Catalogue of the Museum of the Irish Academy*.

Caledonians, and the description given of them by the classic authors, Picts' houses resembled, as nearly as the difference of materials and the nature of the country permitted, those occupied by the inhabitants of the more fertile and less hilly districts. In the eastern divisions the Caledonians had groups of houses built of wood and reeds raised on circular stone foundations, and numerous circular strongholds for security in periods of disturbance. Picts' houses may necessarily have been formed both for shelter and defence ; and the absence of wood as well as the abundance of stones in the districts where such buildings are most numerous, and the necessity of having the walls proof against the application of fire, may have determined the mode of construction and the materials to be used. The larger Picts' houses are like the smaller—viz. circular in form, built of unhewn stones carefully joined, but without cement of any kind. Neither is the arch to be found in the construction of these buildings. One of the characteristic features in their formation is, that chambers are formed in the thick walls. In regard to the position of Picts' houses, I am not aware of any situated far from the sea-coast, and they are often placed on its very margin. One of these buildings forms the most remarkable portion of the remains which can now be traced in the ancient fortress called Edin's Hall in the parish of Dunse, Berwickshire.[1] Yet in Scotland, with few exceptions, it is only in the northern counties, and the Orkney and Shetland Isles, that the remains of Picts' houses

[1] Described, with careful plans, by Turnbull, in the *Transactions of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* for 1850.

Pict's House, Burray, Orkney.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Kerr & Gibb Lithogrs Aberdeen.

are numerous, and in such a state of preservation that their external form and interior arrangement can be successfully examined.

Somewhat similar in details, as well as in general resemblance to the Picts' houses, are the nuraghés of Sardinia. The resemblance cannot fail to strike any one who examines and compares the views and plans of these structures that still exist in Sardinia and in Scotland.[1] One property the Picts' houses and nuraghés undoubtedly possess in common—viz. that their origin or erection is in no way elucidated by rational tradition or authentic history. This is the more remarkable as regards the nuraghés when the position of Sardinia is considered, along with the fact that remains of three thousand of these structures are still to be found in that island. They are in various stages of dilapidation or perfection, yet no authority can be produced for fixing the date when any one of them was erected. The proofs of the Picts' houses having been used as places of burial—at least of skeletons having been found in them—are not numerous, and do not support the idea that these buildings were designed for tombs. The Picts' houses cannot claim connection with any structures in Northern Europe, and if their resemblance to the nuraghés of Sardinia is admitted it only complicates the question, for there are neither facts to determine, nor even sufficient foundations for

[1] Plans and views of the nuraghés will be found in the volume of plates to La Marmora's great work; also in Tyndall's *Sardinia*, and Forester's *Corsica and Sardinia*. For plans and descriptions of Picts' houses one has to search through many works. Wilson's *Archæology* comprehends the most important facts connected with the Picts' houses, pp. 82-86.

arguments from which to deduce a plausible decision regarding the origin of Picts' houses.[1]

Crannoges—Lake-Dwellings.

The remains of dwellings similar to those described by Herodotus [2] as occupied by the Pæonians of the Prasian Lake who baffled the general of Darius,[3] have been discovered in many parts of Switzerland, and are common in Ireland and Scotland. These sites for lake-dwellings, the crannoges of the Gael, are islands in fresh-water lakes, partly or entirely artificial, and in general are framed and supported by piles. More rarely islands, similar in size and situation, have been formed of loose stones. Many reasons might be given to show that the crannoges were formed in remote pre-historic ages;[4] but from the security afforded by their position they in some cases became the sites of mediæval castles which were occupied until times comparatively modern. In many instances the crannoges were connected by means of causeways or by pile-bridges with the mainland, but in others they appear to have been entirely insulated.

Crannoges were not confined to any particular district. They existed in Sutherland, and stretched to the south of Scotland; but the greatest number of those yet discovered are in the country of the Picts, or in districts where there was

[1] In the chapter on the "Phœnicians" will be found notices of customs in Sardinia similar to some in Caledonia.

[2] Herodotus, *Terpsichore*, sec. xvi.

[3] The Prasian Lake was formed by the river Strymon. See article "Cercinitis" in Smith's *Greek and Roman Geography*.

See also a paper by W. M. Wylie, Esq., published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii.

[4] See Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, under the head of "Lake-Dwellings."

an admixture of Pictish inhabitants. To deny that the Caledonians were capable of forming such peculiar and enduring foundations for their dwellings is to assert that they were not only inferior to the beaver in ingenuity, but were even incapable of profiting by the example of that animal; for the beaver was indigenous and survived in Caledonia until a period comparatively recent.[1] A people who felled trees for their fortifications,[2] and fixed stakes in the bed of the river Thames near Chertsey,[3] would not fail to use timber in the construction of their habitations; and those who removed enormous masses of stone to form their fanes and altars would find no insurmountable obstacles in the transport of oak beams. The Caledonians who constructed and guided war-chariots, and shaped, excavated, and polished canoes of great size, each formed from a single oak tree,[4] must have been fully capable of executing such rude carpentry as can be detected in the crannoge.

Weems.

The term Weem was used in Scotland for a natural cave,[5] as well as for the artificial underground structures of rude materials and unknown antiquity to which the name is now

[1] Beavers must have been common in Scotland in the twelfth century, as an assize of King David I., dated at Newcastle-on-Tyne, fixes the custom to be paid on beavers' skins at the same rate as on foxes' skins.—*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 303.

There are two Gaelic names for the beaver—viz. Dobhran Los-leathann, the broad-tailed otter; and Dobrandonn, the brown otter.

[2] Cæsar's *Commentaries*, b.v. c. ix. xxi.

[3] *Ibid.* b. v. c. xviii.; Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, b. i. c. ii.

[4] Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*, pp. 30-38; Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i. pp. 100, 101.

[5] Two parishes in Scotland—viz. Weem in Perthshire, and Wemyss in Fifeshire—derive their names from this word, which is a corruption of the Gaelic Uamh or Uamha, a cave, vault, tomb, etc.

confined. Weem is derived from the Gaelic Uamh, which has the same signification, and is also one of the many words that may be identified in sound and meaning with the terms which in Sanscrit, and its cognate languages in the East, are used to express the same objects in Celtic languages.[1]

Weems, subterraneous apartments, have been discovered in many parts of Scotland.[2] These chambers are built of rude

[1] Umpha or Gumpha, a cave or subterraneous apartment, natural or artificial, is used in dialects of Southern India. In Cingalese, Umaga is a subterraneous passage.

[2] At Alvie, Inverness-shire, is a weem 60 feet long, 9 broad, and 7 high.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii. pp. 382, 383.

In the parish of Auchterhouse, Forfarshire, two weems were discovered. Their contents were wood ashes, bones (not said of what), stones of querns 14 inches in diameter, and a brass ring: the rest of the space was filled with rich mould.—*Ibid.* vol. xiv. p. 526.

In the parish of Liff, in the county of Forfar, weems, or several compartments (not said how many), were each connected by a passage 2½ feet wide with the largest cell, which was 12 feet in length, 6 in breadth, and 5 in height. Some very coarse querns 14 inches in diameter were found in these weems. —*Ibid.* vol. xiii. pp. 118, 119.

In Lesmahagow parish, in the county of Lanark, at Cairney, weems were discovered in 1794, in which were found two querns, also deers' horns and bones of animals.—*Ibid.* vol. xv. pp. 11, 12.

At Priestown, parish of Tealing, in the county of Forfar, there are two weems, one of which consisted of two or three apartments, in which were found wood ashes, fragments of pottery, and a quern.—*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 101.

In a group of weems at Shapinshay in Orkney was found a gold ring of primitive workmanship. —*Ibid.* vol. xvii. p. 236.

Beneath the level surface of a moor in the parish of Kildrummy, Aberdeenshire, are many weems, the largest about 20 feet long, 6 or 7 broad at the floor, only 3 at the roof, and 4 feet feet high.—*Ibid.* vol. xviii. p. 420.

In the parish of Bendothy, Perthshire, several paved weems, about 40 feet long, 6 wide, and 5 deep, were discovered; they were not straight, but formed segments of a circle.—*Ibid.* vol. xix. p. 359.

In the parish of Udny, Aberdeenshire, one of these subterraneous apartments was 60 feet long, forming a segment of a circle. A bead of jet was found in it, and in the immediate neighbourhood three stone hammers and many flint arrow-heads were found. There is a stone circle near to where this underground apartment was found.—Paper read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on the 10th December 1860.

Weems in the parish of Applecross,

stones without any cement, and in places where stones could be found of sufficient size they were placed upright in the sides; others laid horizontally across formed the roof, and completed the primitive structure. If the apartment was designed to be of greater breadth than the length of the stones, each slab of the roof was laid so as to project some distance beyond the one on which it rested, until, thus approaching from both sides in the form of inverted stairs, the space was sufficiently contracted for a stone to reach across and close the aperture.

As weems are covered with earth not raised above the level of or distinguishable from the adjacent ground, it is probable that they were not only store-houses but were also places of concealment. Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century B.C., in that notice of Britain where he mentions its extreme limits from Kent and Cornwall to Dunnet Head,[1] says

county of Ross (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 378); parish and county of Lanark, at Cartland Crags (*Ibid.* vol. xv. p. 11); two groups of weems in parish of Strathdon, in the county of Aberdeen (*Ibid.* vol. xiii. p. 182); at two places in the parish of Whitson and Hilton, in the county of Berwick (*Ibid.* vol. xvi. p. 356).

At Culsh, near Tarland in Aberdeenshire, there is a weem which extends in a curved direction 47 feet; the width at the entry is 2 feet, but gradually increases to 6 at the inner extremity, which is circular. The height from the floor (which is solid rock) increases from 5 feet, near the entry, to an average height of 6 feet at the circular end. The sides of the weem are built of large boulders, which converge as they approach the top, which is formed of large slabs. Two querns were found in this weem.—*Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 262.

Being altogether underground, the buildings discovered in 1860 on the Hill of Cairn-Conan, in the parish of St. Vigeans in Forfarshire, may be classed among the weems, although a circular beehive-shaped building, 10 feet in diameter and 7 high in the centre, formed without cement, was connected with subterranean galleries.

[1] Kantion, Belerion, Orkan.

the people dwell in mean houses formed of logs and reeds; and that in reaping their crops the inhabitants cut off the ears of corn from the stalk, and keep them in underground repositories.[1] Thence every day they take as much as is required, and having bruised the corn, make it into bread. As querns or hand-mills are the objects which have been most commonly found in weems, it may, without much hesitation, be concluded that they are the kind of repositories referred to by the Sicilian historian.

That weems were also used as places of concealment and of residence, although it may have been only temporarily, appears from the remnants of fires which have been found in them, along with horns and bones of animals. In weems of the largest size personal ornaments of primitive workmanship have been discovered.

There are other groups of cells which, although constructed in nearly the same manner and of the same materials as the weems, have nevertheless points of difference so remarkable—particularly in their position in or under tumuli—that there cannot be any doubt they were designed for places of sepulture. They have therefore been noticed in the chapter on "Cairns and Barrows."

In some of the Western Isles cells of somewhat similar construction to the weems, and not of a sepulchral character, were called Tey-nin-Druinich—Druids' houses.

[1] Diodorus Siculus, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. ii.

Places similar to the weems, and intended for the concealment of corn, are to be found on the Barbary coast; also in Syria and Palestine.—See King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, pp. 44-55.

[2] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 154.

Moat-Hills.[1]

"Dimly he view'd the moat-hill's mound,
Where Druids' shades still flitted round."[2]

These artificial mounds, on which justice was administered, existed prior to any records, and continued in Scotland to be used until a comparatively recent period. Although not in such numbers as in North Britain,[3] the position of many may still be pointed out in England; and Silbury Hill,[4] the largest artificial mount in Europe, was most probably the place for the administration of justice attached to Avebury, the noblest specimen of the rude primitive fane that is now to be traced in any country.

A green mound contiguous to the ancient monastery and royal palace of Scone is called the Moot-hill; by Highlanders it is known as the Tom-a-Mhoid,[5] or Hill of Justice. A circular mound, called "The Moat," stood in the immediate vicinity of a very ancient church at Tyrie[6] in Aberdeenshire, from the foundations of which was taken a sculptured stone, with figures, as I imagine, intended to

[1] Mod, a council or court of justice. (*Gaelic Dictionary of Highland Society*). Mod or Mode is still used to designate a court of judicature, and the judges, as well as the place of judgment (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvii. p. 59). See also Cowell's *Words and Law Terms in England*, under the words "Moot" and "Mote;" Skene, *De Verborum Significatione*, "Mote;" and Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 737.

[2] *Lay of Last Minstrel*, canto i. stanza xxv.

[3] In Scotland I have a list of more than fifty moat-hills. With some trouble probably double that number might be found.

[4] Referred to more particularly in the article on the "Great Circular Fanes of Britain."

[5] Tom-a-Mhoid, a court-hill, is mentioned in Shaw's *Hist. of Moray*, p. 243.

Mod, a court or council, was still existing as such, in word and deed, in the island of St. Kilda in the year 1703.—Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 124.

[6] Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire*, vol. i. p. 450.

represent the fire-altar and bird of prey. Near the church of Auchterless was a moat-hill, which in later times was used as the baronial court.[1] Near the church of Rathen were two columnar stone circles, a moat-hill, and a holy well.[2] About a mile from the church of Cruden are a circular temple and moat-hill. The church of Cruden is said to have been built from the pieces of one stone on which hallow-fires were formerly lighted.[3] It would be tedious, as it is unnecessary, further to continue the long list which might be made of moat-hills situated near Christian places of worship and primitive Cyclopean remains in Scotland.

On examining the numerous and very unsatisfactory explanations hitherto given of the meaning of the word "Maiden," so commonly found in connection with castles in many parts of England [4] as well as Scotland, I am tempted to ask whether the Maiden castles may not owe their designation

[1] Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire*, Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 507.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 453, 454.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 375.

[4] The *Maiden* Castle situated a mile north-west from Dorchester.

The *Maiden* Castle near Durham.

Castle Moeddyn, Llanarth, Cardiganshire.

The Maiden Castle upon Stanemore, and the Maiden-way, are both in Westmoreland. The former may have been occupied and the latter improved by the Romans, but this Maiden Castle, like the others, was originally formed by Celts or some aboriginal race.

Walter de Maydenstan, consecrated bishop of Worcester in 1303, as well as several other eminent ecclesiastics in that and the preceding century, derived their names from the town now called Maidstone, in Kent. The primitive monuments in that neighbourhood—viz. at Aylesford and Addington—suggest an argument in favour of Maydenstane having a common origin, whatever that may be, with the Maiden castles and Maiden stones of Wales and Scotland.

In Scotland there are Maiden castles at Edinburgh; in the parish of Colessie in Fifeshire; in the parish of Falkland in Fifeshire; at St. Vigeans, Forfarshire; at Dunnipace, in the parish of Markinch in Fifeshire; at Campsie in Stirlingshire; at Pittodrie in Aberdeenshire; at Roslin in Mid-Lothian, etc.

to their having been the places where justice was administered, or to their having been built on sites previously occupied for judicial purposes? The derivation which I suggest is from the Celtic-Gaelic word Mod in connection with Dun,[1] the place, mount, or fortress where justice was administered. It may be objected to this derivation that there are also Maiden ways, ancient roads, and Maiden stones; but in the only case of this kind which I have had an opportunity of examining—viz. the Maiden castle, Maiden causeway, and Maiden stone at Pittodrie—the two latter probably derived their names from the castle. From it the causeway seems to have reached to the ancient fort, the walls of which, built of uncemented stones, circled round any accessible parts leading to the summit of the mountain of Benachie. The castle itself, apparently of the same construction and belonging to the same early race and age as the hill-fort above, is situated about a mile distant, and two-thirds of the way towards the base of the hill. The Maiden stone now stands about a mile distant from the castle, and various reasons might be given for considering that it is not in its original position.[2]

There are also rocks which are called Maiden.[3] In these cases the word may have a different origin, and be derived

1 Mod-oid-an, a court, a court of justice, an assembly; persons assembled to administer justice. Dun, a mount, a fortress, a hill. — *Gaelic Dictionary by the Highland Society of Scotland.*

2 This stone has on one side figures which I have classed amongst Caledonian hieroglyphics, and on the other side is a cross. The sculptures do not appear to have been executed at the same early period as some other sculptured stones found in the neighbourhood.

3 Maiden Stone, a striking rock on the coast at Ayton in Berwickshire. The Maiden Craig, a remarkable rock about three miles from Aberdeen.—

from some combination founded on the Gaelic Mor-Mo-Moid, great or large.[1]

Rock-Basins.

It would appear that many of the rock-basins are natural cavities, but others are at least partly artificial.[2] They are not unknown, but are not common in Scotland. There is one on Ben New in Strathdon, "renowned among the vulgar for marvellous cures: there is said to be a worm still abiding in it, which, if alive when the patient comes, he or she will live; if dead they are condemned to die."[3] It is said that this rock-basin has never been seen without water in it. The above quotation, from a MS. written about 1725, shows that, whether natural or artificial, such cavities were connected with superstitious rites of heathen origin.[4]

Bennew, Binnew, or Binnuadh is said to mean in Gaelic the Holy Hill.[5]

On the upper side of the great stone of the cromlech, or dolmen, at Tiaret, in Northern Africa, are cut three square troughs, the largest being three feet on each side. These troughs communicated with each other by channels four inches broad, and of less depth than the basins.[6]

Stuart's *Introductory Notices* (p. 3) *to the Sculptured Stones of Scotland.*

Maiden Stone, an insulated rock half a mile from the harbour of St. Andrews, Fifeshire.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii. p. 201.

[1] Mor, Mo, Moid (adj.), great, large; Moid (sub.; *Gaelic Dictionary, Highland Society*) or Maighne, great.—*Irish and English Dictionary* of Edward Llhuyd.

[2] Paper by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson in the *British Archæological Journal*, June 1860, p. 101.

[3] Quoted in Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. i. p. 617.

[4] On this subject see further particulars under the head of "The Worship of Fountains."

[5] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii. p. 184.

[6] Rhind in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix.

CHAPTER XV.

SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND, WITH HEATHEN EMBLEMS;[1] CALEDONIAN HIEROGLYPHICS.

The Hieroglyphics may have been symbols of objects of Heathen Worship, acquired or retained during the early migrations of the Celtic race, or adopted through later influences—Some of the Hieroglyphic Figures certainly, the others probably, are of Asiatic derivation—Phœnician influence on Celtic communities—Ships of the Veneti—Ornaments and Bronze Implements imported into Caledonia—Certain of the Hieroglyphics probably connected with Planetary Worship—Sculptured Stones found in connection with the rude Primitive Monuments—Are not Roman or Scandinavian—Were not originally devised for, although they may have been placed on, Memorials of Individuals, or on Boundary Stones of Lands; were connected with the Religion of the Picts.—*Sculptured Stones of a Later Period*—The Cross imposed over Heathen Emblems—The Cross in combination with Heathen Emblems—Heathen Emblems tolerated and used, but not introduced in the Christian period.

IN separate chapters will be found notices of the peculiar Cyclopean structures of definite forms which are to be seen in various countries from the peninsula of India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The people who reared these monuments in Western Europe, whether attracted or impelled

[1] The most remarkable of these are the double disc; double disc and sceptre; crescent; crescent and sceptre; altar; altar and sceptre and hawk; serpent; serpent and sceptre; elephant; horse; bull; boar; bird of prey; human figure with dog's head; fish; dog's head; horse-shoe arch; mirror; mirror-case; comb; comb-case, etc.

onwards towards the setting sun, seem at last to have been compressed into Armorica, and to have expanded over the British Isles—even to the remote Hebrides and Orkneys—there to rear in simple grandeur works that still bear witness to the identity of the primitive fanes of the far east and extreme west of the world, as known to the ancients. Whether any race previous to the Celtic occupied Britain, and raised a portion of these monuments, may be asserted and disputed; but that they were executed by a numerous people is proved by the multitude and the magnitude of their fanes and sepulchres. Records of monolithic columnar structures now swept away, or vestiges of others remaining in the north of Scotland, even within the last century, might be reckoned by hundreds.

The monuments to which I have hitherto referred were generally—perhaps the most ancient of them invariably—formed of unhewn masses of stone. From this it may with probability be inferred that the nations who reared these Cyclopean fanes had departed on their migration before their original countrymen (whoever they were) had in a perverted progress reached so far as to worship carved images of spiritual power and divine attributes, or had advanced so far in the arts as to be enabled to give form and feature to the embodied fancies of depraved imaginations. From these causes the consideration of the sculptured stones of Scotland has been kept separate from the inquiry into the history of those primitive fanes and memorials, the stones of which bear no trace of the mason's art. Yet there is sufficient evidence to connect

the earliest with the latest of these monuments—the rude monolith with the sculptured column.[1]

By whom, at what period, and for what purpose the sculptured stones of Scotland were raised, and the hieroglyphics were graven on them, are questions now to be examined. The most probable conclusion is, that these figures represent objects connected with the religion of the inhabitants of Caledonia previous to the Roman invasion and to the introduction of Christianity.

In attempting to form a judgment regarding the object for which the above-mentioned figures were designed it is necessary to distinguish two subjects involved in the inquiry—viz. the origin of these emblems, if emblems they be, and their execution on existing monuments. Their origin may be of remote antiquity—their execution is of various dates, extending not only into the historical, but even into the Christian period. Although religious symbols, they may have been used as monumental devices. In examining into the origin of these figures, their simplest forms must be studied; and, as a general rule, the further the divergence from the simple model, either in the outline or by additional ornament, the later appears to be the date of the sculptured monument. The figures most embellished are found combined with the cross in sculptures which appear to have been executed at a period shortly before pagan rites ceased to be

[1] It would appear that Moses denounced raising pillars, plain or sculptured, as objects of worship by the Jews. See the marginal notes, and additional note, from Bishop Patrick, in D'Oyly and Mant's Bible, to Leviticus xxvi. 1.

avowed, as when that took place the sculpture of pagan symbols, if religious, would naturally be discontinued.

The figures of these sculptures may be divided into two classes ; the first comprehending those that are neither Christian emblems nor objects used as ornaments in Christian art ; in the second class are included all those figures which, although pagan, are not exclusively Caledonian, but are found in connection with Christian emblems on the sculptured stones of Scotland.

In regard to the people who introduced or executed these hieroglyphic sculptures, two theories present themselves—viz. either that they were introduced by a later body of Celtic immigrants than those who probably reared and certainly occupied the unhewn monolithic fanes, or that they were introduced through the influence and example of foreign traders and settlers. These two theories may be conjoined, and we may imagine that some of the figures were brought by the early Celtic immigrants, and that they afterwards adopted others through external—possibly Phœnician—influence. Some of these emblems indisputably, and all of them probably, are of Oriental derivation. The Phœnicians, with their descendants in Lybia and Iberia—Carthaginians and inhabitants of Tartessus and Gadeira,[1] and of other settlements and marts which they had established on the shores of the Atlantic—are the only people, we have reason to believe, who had sufficient time and opportunity to influence the inhabitants of Britain, the trade of which, for many hundred years, was wholly

[1] Andalusia and Cadiz.

monopolised by the race to whom is here applied the general name of Phœnicians. That these enterprising navigators had influenced, in the arts at least, the Celtic inhabitants of the Armorican coast, can hardly be doubted, if we refer to the description of the fleet and ships of the Veneti as given by Cæsar.

In the long-contested naval action with Cæsar's fleet the Veneti had two hundred and twenty ships fully equipped. They were of great strength, built of oak, with benches a foot in breadth, and fastened by iron bolts the thickness of a man's thumb. In place of cables there were iron chains in the ships, and their sterns were higher than the turrets built on the decks of the Roman vessels. From Cæsar also we learn that with these vessels the Veneti traded with the Britons, and that the Britons had assisted the Gauls in their wars against the Romans.

The produce and exports of Britain at this time consisted of corn, cattle, gold, silver, and iron ; also skins, slaves, and dogs famous in hunting, and used in war.[1] Of such articles the Caledonian forests would certainly supply a portion, and the harbours of North Britain probably received the vessels that carried on the traffic.

In this way there may have been brought to the eastern coasts of Caledonia the highly-polished and carefully-perforated jet ornaments ; also the glass amulets called serpent stones or Druids' beads, as well as the bronze implements that have been found in very ancient tumuli, particularly in the counties of

[1] Strabo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. vi.

Fife, Forfar, Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross.[1] The contact of the Caledonians with foreign traders can thus be accounted for; and it is not immaterial to remark that all the stones which have simple emblematic sculptures are found at no great distance from harbours, estuaries, or rivers of the eastern coast of Scotland.

Before entering more particularly into the subject of the sculptured stones, it is necessary to notice an argument which, if valid, would restrict the date when these sculptures were executed—even those with purely heathen emblems—to some period later than the introduction of Christianity. The observation alluded to is easily disproved, although often admitted,—viz. that these sculptures could not have endured from a very remote period in a northern climate. In reference to such a proposition it might be asked, Why should Caledonian sculptures disappear by waste of time, and those executed by the Romans remain distinct? The sandstone, on which so many of the Roman inscriptions taken from the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus are graven, is not to be compared in durability to Aberdeenshire granite; yet Roman inscriptions carry us back sixteen or seventeen hundred years. There is therefore no limit within the historical or even the traditionary period to which sculptures in Aberdeenshire granite need be restricted, so far as depends on arguments

[1] Several of these will be found described in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.

In Aberdeenshire the author lately found a jet necklace of large size in a rude and apparently ancient cist. The necklace originally consisted of eight pieces, of a rhomboidal form, the largest being 1½ inch long and the same in breadth; these flat portions had three beads between each.

founded on the wasting effect of atmospheric action on the surface of the stone. By far the greatest number, and those of most interest in the sculptured stones, in which there is no Christian emblem, are found in Aberdeenshire, and are of Aberdeenshire granite.

The emblems here arranged in the first class of figures are the double disc by itself, or crossed by a double-angled sceptre—the crescent by itself, or crossed by a single-angled sceptre—an altar crossed by a double-angled sceptre, with the hawk over the altar—the serpent alone, entwined with another, or crossed by a double-angled sceptre—the elephant —the horse—the bull—the boar—the bird of prey—the fish —human figure with dog's head—dog's head—horse-shoe arch — mirror—mirror-case—comb—comb-case—and various others of less definite form or less intelligible object.

I am strongly inclined to subdivide these emblems, and to class separately, as certainly or most probably objects connected with planetary worship, the double disc with and without the sceptre—the crescent with and without the sceptre—the serpent with and without the sceptre—an altar with and without the sceptre—altar with sceptre and hawk —the elephant—the horse-shoe arch—and the bird. The following objects—viz. hieroglyphical fish, the dog's head, the dog's head on human figure, the sculpture of the horse, the bull, and some other emblems—although not unconnected with the same form of heathenism, appear of a somewhat different type.

An important point regarding the stones on which these

figures appear is, that their connection can be established with the columnar fanes on whose rude monoliths there is no trace of sculpture, nor any appearance of implements having been used to alter their natural form. Thus at various places in Aberdeenshire [1] stones sculptured with these figures have been found sometimes in connection with, often contiguous to, the circles of unhewn stones; and these fanes, as well as the sculptured stones, are commonly seen in the foundations or in the immediate neighbourhood of Christian churches, built on sites already consecrated to religion in the estimation of the people [2]—where columnar monoliths had marked the sacred limits, or in some cases were themselves the objects of worship to our heathen ancestors.[3]

Another point of importance in regard to the stones with purely heathen figures is, that they are found in greatest numbers where rude fanes and cognate Cyclopean monuments are most numerous. In the same localities, also, hill-forts, with and without vitrified sites, and weems, or underground cells,[4] are common. In the centre of Aberdeenshire the simple heathen sculptures are most numerous; and taking the Newton stone, with its unique inscription, as a centre, eight or

[1] At Huntly, Kintore, Kinellar, Crichie, Midmar, etc.

[2] See instructions by Pope Gregory to Augustine and Miletus, A.D. 601, in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History; Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 141.

[3] See edicts against stone-worship in the *Canons of Edgar*, the *Pœnitentials of Theodore and Ecgbert*, the *Laws of Cnut;* also in Armorica, by a council of Tours in 567, and by a council of Nantes in the seventh century.

[4] These may be the underground stores for corn mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, b. v. c. ii. Such places for the concealment of corn are to be found on the Barbary coast, also in Syria and Palestine.—King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, pp. 44, 55.

ten hill-forts or vitrified sites are within a radius of fifteen miles.[1]

In discussing the antiquity of the Cyclopean remains in Caledonia reference is made to the sculptured stones found in the mound at Kintore, and those taken from the rock of Dinnacair. Another circumstantial portion of evidence on this point has been lately obtained, and was announced to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland at their meeting on the 15th February 1865 in a paper read by Mr. J. Stuart. He, along with other members, re-opened a cist in a cairn at Cairngreg in Forfarshire. This cist had contained a rude urn and bronze dagger, and the general and particular features of the tomb were considered as warranting the opinion of the deposit being of an early date. "Two great slabs, one over the other, covered the cist, and between these the fragment of a sculptured stone appeared." This was the "fragment of a large pillar, with the figure of the symbolical elephant." It was supposed that when the cist was erected the sculptured stone had been used in its formation. A further proof in favour of the same argument may be adduced from one of the stones at Logie, on which the crescent figure appears graven over a double disc that is nearly obliterated. In this, as in a somewhat similar instance noticed in regard to one of the Kintore sculptures, the last-imposed figure being of the same class as those in

[1] These are Dunedeir, Top-o-Noath, Barmekin or Dun Echt, Barmekin of Keig, Keirhill of Skene, Barra Hill, Top of Benachie, Maiden Castle, Boyndie, besides others of less size and in lower situations. Four of these forts may be seen from the place where originally stood the sculptured stones now at Newton.

use by the same people at the same time, affords a strong argument in accordance with the appearance of the sculpture —viz. that time had nearly effaced from the granite the figure of the double disc before the crescent was graven over it. The double disc and sceptre have also been placed on the same stone, and apparently at the same time as the crescent. Like the Kintore stone, this was also one of a group, for it is known that three of the sculptured stones now at Logie were removed from the moor of Carden, where they lay along with another sculptured stone that has been destroyed.[1] This moor is in the small parish of Oyne, in which are the remains of two circular columnar temples. It is probable that many of the sculptured stones were originally in groups, and that like those at Carden they have been scattered in the neighbourhood of where they once stood.[2] Or single sculptured stones may be the sole remains of groups that were otherwise unhewn, and owe their preservation to the superstitious fears excited by their cabalistic figures, whilst the ruder members of the fane have been appropriated by the mason. In attempting to divine the objects indicated in these sculptures—what they are intended to represent, as well as the people by whom, and the period when, they were graven—as there is no sufficient evidence, it is of consequence to contract within manageable limits the area to be investigated by excluding the claims of the Romans and the Scandinavians to be considered the authors of the Caledonian sculptures.

[1] See account of the sculptured stones by the editor, Mr. Stuart, Plates Nos. III. and IV.

[2] This was the case with a group which once stood on the Hill of Rothmaise, in the parish of Rayne.

None of the simple heathen emblems which we are now considering at all resemble those on the numerous remains found at the permanent Roman stations, even on the wall of Antoninus on the Caledonian frontier. Neither is it likely that the Caledonians would adopt any design from the Romans, whom they continually resisted and successfully repelled, and who only secured by conquest as much of North Britain as their armies occupied or their fortified positions enclosed, and only retained these for the short periods during which they were fully garrisoned. It is true that the Romans defeated the armies of the Caledonians; but it is clear from the Roman historians and the nature of the Roman remains in Caledonia, that the nation was never subdued.

In the great hostile military processions of Agricola, Lollius Urbicus, Severus, and other commanders, to the Moray Firth, they encountered, with the exception of the first-named, only a desultory opposition, but a fierce people and great natural obstacles. These invasions were, however, always followed, at no great distance of time, by inroads of the Caledonians into the Roman provinces within the fortified walls of Antoninus and Hadrian. These walls; the dates when they were erected and repaired; the purchasing the forbearance of the northern Britons by Virius Lupus, the lieutenant of Severus; the treaty concluded by that emperor with the Caledonians after his advance through their country; and their general attack the very next year on the Roman provinces, are proofs not only that the Caledonians were unsubdued, but that their power was undiminished: this last owing, no doubt, to

their having prudently avoided openly to encounter, while they never ceased to harass, the Roman armies.

A theory has been advanced, that in the period which elapsed between the invasions of Caledonia by Agricola and Severus the numbers and audacity of the inhabitants of North Britain prove that the population was greatly increased, and that this increase was caused by immigrations from North Germany and Scandinavia. I am not aware of any early authority that supports, or of any necessity that justifies, this hypothesis. A sufficient explanation of the great amount of population suggests itself—viz. that the proscribed Druids and the remains of the Silures, Ordovices, and other Celtic tribes of South Britain, when subdued by the Romans, naturally retired to increase the numbers and hostility of their race in the unconquered portion of the country. That this was particularly the case as regarded the Brigantes is more than probable, as from their origin they would find sympathy, and from their position could easily take refuge, within the Caledonian territory.[1] The migration of the oppressed Britons to the north, and beyond the Roman boundary, would be one reason for a diminution of the most warlike part of the popu-

[1] The Brigantes, between A.D. 140 and 150, revolted at the same time that the Caledonians attacked the Roman provinces. The Brigantes occupied the mountainous and woody district from the Humber to the Solway. They were the most numerous of the tribes within the Roman frontier, and are said to have been destroyed; which may be true as regards their name and their possessions, but incredible as regards the people themselves, when we consider the nature of their country and its contiguity to the independent portion of their race, with whom, moreover, they seem to have been acting in concert against the Romans. We also know that the expression in Roman writers of a people being destroyed did not always mean that they were exterminated.

lation of South Britain; but its strength was more particularly exhausted by the numerous levies which the Romans raised and dispatched to defend their other provinces on the continent of Europe.

As the Romans were at one time considered the only people in Britain who had been capable of executing sculptures—even those of such simple design and workmanship as the figures we are now considering—it is easy to conceive how they got the credit of these works. Yet the nation that could form the ornaments and offensive weapons which have been discovered in tumuli of the most ancient types, or could frame the war-chariots which, as well as their skilful management, excited the admiration of Cæsar and the notice of Tacitus, could have found no difficulty in graving the Caledonian hieroglyphics.

To the Scandinavians, however, were more generally assigned the erection of these monuments and the execution of sculptures that probably existed a thousand years before the Danes made themselves known by hostile descents upon the coasts of Britain. The origin of the Scandinavian theory is not obvious, nor do the arguments I have seen in its support offer a satisfactory explanation of its endurance.[1]

Besides the arguments now advanced, as the sculptured stones are connected with the Cyclopean fanes, the notices of these monuments can be referred to for additional reasons against recognising any claim on behalf of Romans or of Danes

[1] On this subject the arguments of Dr. Wilson seem to me to be conclusive.—See his *Prehistoric and Archæological Annals of Scotland*, p. 321.

to be considered the gravers of symbols that are foreign to the known monuments of these nations. Excluding the Romans and Scandinavians, there only remain the various tribes of the Celtic race, possibly influenced by communication with the Phœnicians. So far as a decision can be formed on this subject from the few facts capable of investigation, the Celts are the race, the Picts the people, to whom must be attributed the execution and erection of the sculptured stones of Scotland.

It is here necessary to refer to two purposes for which it has been stated these monuments were graven and erected—viz. as memorials on the graves of individuals or on fields of combat, and as boundary-stones. The first of these involves two separate propositions, one of which may be partly admitted—viz. that some of these monuments were erected as memorials of individuals or events, but circumstances combine to *prove* that others were objects of worship. The second proposition involved is the nature of the sculptures, those here referred to being the early and simple heathen sculptures; and reasons will now be given for considering them as emblems connected with the religion of the people of Caledonia, both prior to and partly after the introduction of Christianity. These hieroglyphics bear no reference to human forms or actions such as are found amongst the sculptured monuments of a later date. The early sculptures represent objects, not of local or individual, but of national or general import, for these emblems are few in number and identical in form, wherever found, from Sutherland to the Solway Firth. The

Sculptured Stone at Deir
Aberdeenshire.

sceptre—everywhere, in the east as in the west, an emblem of power—is seldom absent, and is found in connection either with the double disc, the crescent, the serpent, or a figure which is here designated a fire-altar. From these and other grounds, which will be found in the articles treating of each particular figure, is formed the opinion that the simple emblems represented superior and mysterious powers recognised by a whole nation.

They are emblems of religious worship. Circumstantial evidence to this effect can be accumulated to an extent that almost amounts to convincing proof. It was the custom of early Christian teachers, at all events those of the Celtic countries of Western Europe, to convert heathen monuments into objects of Christian worship.[1] This appears a conclusive argument for monuments which were thus Christianised having been previously dedicated to religion. In Armorica memorials so converted are numerous and prominent.[2] In

[1] The stone at the ancient abbey of Deer may possibly be a rude cross incised on the reverse side of a heathen object of worship when Bede the Pict, mormaer of Buchan, granted Deer to St. Drostan, about A.D. 580.—Robertson's *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire*, vol. iv. p. 546.

[2] "Les premiers apôtres de l'Armorique, pour rendre la conversion plus générale, conserverent, sans doute, une partie des rites populaires, en leur donnant seulement un nouveau patronage et une autre intention. On lui baptisa ses idoles pour qu'elle pût continuer à les adorer. Ce fut ainsi que, ne pouvant pas deraciner les Menhirs, on les fit Chrétiens en les surmontant d'une croix ; ainsi que l'on substitua les feux de Saint-Jean à ceux qui s'allumaient en l'honneur du soleil."—Souvestre's *Les Derniers Bretons*, vol. i. p. 91.

"The huge menhir near Pleumœur is an emblem of Christianity as well as of paganism, for it is surmounted by a cross, and its sides are impressed with Christian symbols."—Weld's *Vacation in Brittany*, p. 138.

The Chevalier de Fremenville, in describing an overthrown dolmen near Carnac, which is surmounted by a very ancient and peculiar form of cross, says—"Nous rencontrerons fréquem-

the life of St. Patrick is recorded that in Ireland he thus dealt with heathen monuments, consecrating them to Christian purposes.[1] The fact that heathen emblems are so commonly seen surrounding the ancient crosses in the sculptured stones of Scotland, delineated in the work of the Spalding Club, leaves no doubt that this unnatural combination being so generally practised must have been authoritatively countenanced; as in the case of the ancient fanes which were permitted to be converted into Christian places of worship and animal sacrifice![2]

Even if the sculptured stones of Scotland bearing only heathen emblems were designed for sepulchral monuments, it would not be an argument against but in favour of the religious origin of the mysterious emblems found graven on them.

The Caledonians and other Picts[3] were tatooed with divers kinds of figures and animals;[4] yet even if it were admitted that these tatooings represented the same figures as occur on

ment dans les cours de cet examen des antiquités de la Bretagne des monumens chrétiens érigés sur les ruines de ceux du Druidisme, ou qui places près d'eux, semblent faire recevoir à l'image du Christ, de la vierge, ou d'un saint, l'offrande et les adorations que le paysan Breton rend par tradition et comme sans s'en, douter à une pierre Celtique, à une fontaine sacrée, à un vieux chêne, objets vénérés du culte de ses pères."—Fremenville's *Antiquités de la Bretagne, Morbihan*, pp. 39, 40.

[1] It was not unusual for St. Patrick to dedicate pagan monuments to the true God.—Petrie (quoting from Evin's *Life of St. Patrick*) in *Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 136.

[2] See in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, c. xxx.; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 141, the letter from Gregory, the first pope and saint of that name, to the Abbot Mellitus.

[3] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxxiii.; and Eumenius, *Ibid.* p. lxix.

[4] Herodian, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxiv.; and Solinus, *Ibid.* p. x.; also in *Universal History, Ancient*, vol. xix. p. 75.

Rock of Dinnacair, Kincardineshire.

H. Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Keith & Gibb Lithog.rs Aberdeen.

the sculptured stones, it would not afford an argument against the religious origin of these emblems.

Another purpose for which it has been suggested that the sculptured stones were designed and erected is to mark the boundaries of lands. This seems at once to be refuted by sculptured stones being found in groups, as at Carden, Kintore, Inverury, Rhynie, Dyce, and Dinnacair—at Kintore originally occupying the summit of an artificial mound, and at Dinnacair the scarcely more extended space on the summit of an isolated rock. At the period when these stones must have been placed on this rock it could not have been applicable as a place of sepulture ; and its height—upwards of 100 feet—very limited area, isolated position, and perpendicular sides, forbids the idea that any artificial boundary-marks could render more definite the natural limits of such a place. In a few instances sculptured stones may be found serving as land-marks, but when no longer objects of veneration, it is only natural to suppose they would be removed and made use of for a purpose to which they were so well adapted.

Three hundred years ago a manuscript,[1] quoted by Mr. Chalmers in his work *The Sculptured Stones of Angus and Mearns*, refers to one of the sculptured stones at Meigle. It states that tradition then assigned the erection of that monument to the Thane of Glammis, who set it up "quhen that cuntrey was all ane greit forest," which I presume means that he placed it as a boundary-mark. That this was not the original intent, although it may have been a later application

[1] By Archdeacon Sinclair of Glasgow, in the year 1560.

of this monument, is clear from the devices which it bears. The author of the manuscript pronounces the principal figure of the sculpture to be "ane goddess in ane caert, and twa hors drawand her." Few people, it is presumed, will be able to perceive any distinguishing marks of divinity or of sex in the most prominent of two muffled figures who, besides the driver, are mounted on the cart. Not long since one of these ancient sculptured stones might be seen doing duty as a bridge for foot-passengers across a small stream, and others, more ostentatiously disposed of, made themselves useful as scratching-posts; but it is clear that they were never designed for bridges, scratching-posts, or boundary-marks. Even if landmarks had commonly been graven with the simple heathen emblems, it would not militate against these figures being typical of invisible powers, who might have been thus invoked to ratify and maintain boundaries defined by such Caledonian termini.

From these evidences and arguments, taken in connection with what is stated in the chapters that treat of the ancient inhabitants of Britain and their monuments, I have no great hesitation in offering an opinion that the rude Cyclopean fanes were certainly occupied, and that the simple sculptures were probably executed by a Celtic race—viz. the Caledonians, Picardach[1] or Picts—possibly influenced in some degree by Phœnicians. The Phœnicians, even in late times, worshipped their deities under the image of the unshaped stones called

[1] One of the sculptured stones, with simple heathen emblems, is called the Picardy Stone. It is in the parish of Inch in Aberdeenshire.

bætyli. These stones, which were sometimes inscribed with obsolete or mystic characters, were supposed to be inhabited by a living principle, and to have an oracular power.[1] With regard to the period when the Caledonian sculptures were executed, all that can with probability be affirmed is, that those in which the cross forms no part were executed previous to the introduction or general acceptance of Christianity ; although, along with other reasons, the absence of any great migration to the east coast of Scotland after the first landing of the Romans in Britain, renders it extremely likely that the emblems belonged to a period prior to that event. Indeed, it is by no means improbable that the form of some of these figures, derived from the progenitors of the Celtic race, was preserved in remembrance by their descendants through all their wanderings. Wherever the Celts came from, it may be presumed that they retained in mind, if not in any material form, emblems or objects of worship—a matter of much easier accomplishment than to find their own way to the western extremity of the known world.

In the preceding chapter has been given a list of emblems found unconnected with any Christian sign. The following remarks refer to other figures, as the hippocampus, centaur, capricornus, undefined monsters, human figures, the tree, sacrifice of a bull, the camel—all which are found in sculptures along with the Christian cross.

It is convenient to class under three heads the monuments on which these appear, viz.—1*st*. Stones on which the figures

[1] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 304, 323.

were originally and exclusively heathen emblems, but to which the cross has been superadded ; 2*d*. Stones on which the cross was part of the original sculpture, and in connection with heathen devices ; and 3*d*. Stones, probably memorial and sepulchral, on which the cross is found in connection with human figures.

It cannot be denied that early Christian missionaries tolerated customs and emblems connected with that heathen worship which they combated, supplanted, and superseded ; yet we have no right to assume, and no evidence to support the idea, that these teachers introduced any symbol of paganism that was not previously held in veneration by the inhabitants of Caledonia. Such an opinion is not only opposed to the early ecclesiastical records of our country, but is in itself an unreasonable assumption. We may therefore conclude that the pagan emblems found on Christian monuments were connected with the religious system that existed previous to the arrival of Christian missionaries ; and it is easy to understand that necessity as well as policy enjoined a careful procedure by peaceful individuals whose lives and missions would have been abruptly terminated if they had attempted suddenly to eradicate customs or obliterate objects which were hallowed in the sight of a fierce and uncivilised people.

First. Regarding sculptured stones with simple heathen figures, on which the cross had been added on the reverse side or inserted amongst the pagan emblems. On such monuments we find in two instances the tail of a serpent forming an unseemly appendage to the pillar of the cross, for

which the body of the serpent had been partly obliterated. However, as there is direct testimony to prove that heathen monuments and temples were adapted to the use of early Christian converts,[1] speculation on this point is unnecessary.

The *second* class of such sculptures are those on which the cross is found to have been executed at the same time as the heathen emblems with which it is surrounded. Monuments of this description are apparently of later date, and if not of superior workmanship, are of more complicated design than those bearing merely the simple emblems which, in the class we are now considering, are found embellished to a degree that barely renders distinguishable their original form. In some cases the figure of the cross is overspread by the same elaborate ornaments as the surrounding emblems.[2] In the first-noticed class of these sculptures Christianity may be imagined struggling against paganism, and policy converting objects already held sacred into instruments of conversion. In the second class is exhibited the picture of a mixed religion, and I believe truly representing a compromise—viz. Christianity acknowledged without paganism being discarded.[3]

1 Quoted in treating of the purely heathen sculptures.

2 The basket-work of the Britons referred to by Martial, and their wicker-work mentioned by Pliny, may help to explain the prevalence in these sculptures of the interlaced pattern, with which objects animate, as well as inanimate, are alike overlaid.

3 In South Britain this is sufficiently apparent from the *Pœnitential of Theodore;* the *Early Ecclesiastical Canons;* and the *Secular Laws of Edward and Guthrun, Athelstan, Ethelred, Cnut,* etc.

The mixture of heathen rites and superstitions with Christian ceremonies appears prominently in the "Account of the parish of Logierait, Perthshire;" and on the sculptured stone at Dunfallandy, in that parish, there is exhibited a combination of pagan and Christian symbols on one side—viz. the cross, garnished around

From that compromise religion has suffered, and even to the present day the remains of heathen practices may be traced, and will be referred to in the chapters that treat of the religion of the ancient inhabitants, and also under the head of "Customs and Superstitions common to the Inhabitants of Britain, and to those of Hindostan and other countries of Asia."

Besides the figures already described, others are combined with the cross in Caledonian sculptures, and are more complicated and unseemly than those which are found on purely heathen monuments—they are not Christian, but heathen. What legitimate connection can Christian art claim with such figures as a man's body with a dog's head, or a goat, which, in place of hind-quarters, has a fish's tail?—a woman's bust united to a horse's body—an elephant with feet ending in floral scrolls—the hippocampus—the fish—and the bird of prey. None of these are Christian emblems. The tree, the fish, and the serpent are claimed as Biblical, if not as Christian symbols, but I believe with as little right as any of the monsters in the above list. Of each of these figures separate notices are subjoined. It may be remarked that the compromise by which heathen objects are incongruously employed in Christian art is not confined to the earlier Christians of Caledonia. Emblems less numerous, but scarcely more tolerable, are common on sepulchral monuments of the present

with angels, animals, and monsters; on the other side the cross is surmounted by a crescent and sceptre, the double disc, and the elephant.—*Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, plates XLVII. XLVIII.; and *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 82-85.

age. In all the cemeteries of Britain may be found vases provided for the ashes of bodies that were not to be burned—angels unauthorisedly furnished with wings of heathen invention[1]—and heads and shoulders of dissevered cherubims derived from Eastern models.[2]

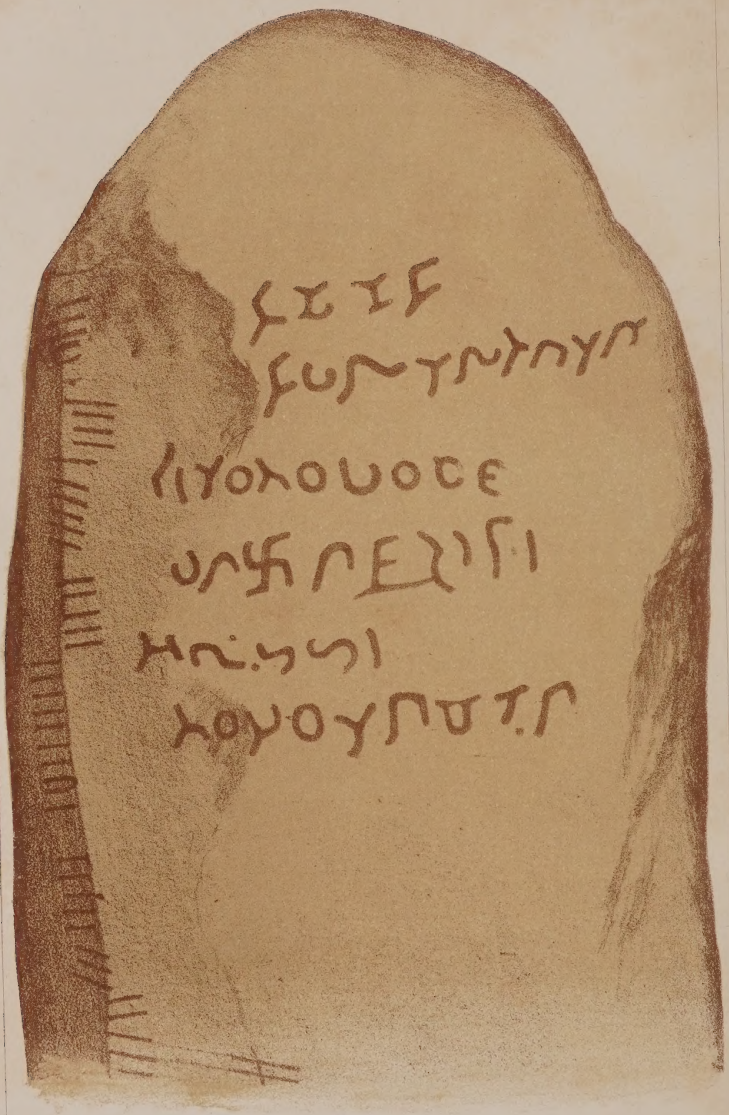
The third class of monuments are those in which human figures are represented in such a manner as leaves no doubt that the sculptures are memorials—it may be of battles, or successful warriors, or daring hunters. In a country abounding in forests which sheltered such fierce animals and powerful rivals to man's dominion as the wolf and the wild bull, and possibly the bear, the chase and war were doubtless kindred vocations, and the most daring hunter and the bravest warrior, if not united in the same person, would be held in nearly equal estimation by the community of which they were members. The individual who killed the dreaded wolf of

[1] From the fragments of Sanchoniatho it appears that Cronus had four, and the other Phœnician gods only two wings each.—Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 336.

[2] Besides some of the Greek and Roman deities, human figures, with the addition of wings, are common in the Hindu sculptures. In the delicate marble carvings of the temples on Mount Aboo, and in other parts of Rajasthan, figures, otherwise human, may be seen with feathered wings. That angels should be so represented is opposed to the information furnished in the Bible in St. Paul's Epistle to Hebrews, xiii. 2, and Genesis xviii. xix. Heads and shoulders of cherubim may be seen at Weerman and other ruined marble temples of Rajasthan, and in positions that account for their mutilated figures. There the Hindu mason had no occasion to furnish them with more extended bodies than was required to support their chubby heads, and give him place whereon to fix the wings which were required to fill a space on the capital of a pillar, or serve as a corbel to some projection of the superstructure. In these temples figures, identical with the angels of European sculptors, may be seen as ornaments on a pillar, their extended wings forming supports to an architrave.

the neighbouring forest, or vanquished a hostile champion, would alike deserve the gratitude of his tribe and such immortality as its sculptors could bestow.

These notices, and the remarks on the individual figures of the Caledonian sculptures, only refer to what are heathen; for, although of great interest, the crosses, dress, arms, human figures, processions, and decapitations which appear on the sculptured stones of Scotland are without doubt works of a later period and more mixed population, and therefore are not available in considering the ethnology and religion of the early inhabitants, their primitive monuments, and the origin of the hieroglyphics of Caledonia.



Inscription on Newton Stone. No 1.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS.

Inscription on the Newton Stone—Different Translations of it given; as Phœnician, Celtic, Latin and Greek, Hebrew, and Egypto-Arabian—The Phœnician is not only the Original from which the Greek, Latin, and other European Alphabets are derived, but is also the Foundation of the Rock and Lat Alphabetical Characters—The Druids used Greek Letters —In the Gaelic Language the word for Incised Writing is nearly the same as in the Greek—Phœnician Inscriptions at Tangier, at Cadiz, in Brittany, doubtful—Remarkable Phœnician Inscription found at Marseilles.

THERE is reason to believe that in Scotland stones bearing alphabetical inscriptions have been destroyed even in the last century. Toland, in his *History of the Druids*, refers to stones in Scotland inscribed with "alphabetical characters unintelligible to such as have hitherto seen them;" and he adds, "yet they ought to have been fairly represented for the use of such as might have been able perhaps to explain them." This notice by Toland was written nearly a hundred years before the inscription on the Newton Stone was remarked[1]—that inscription being little distinguishable in consequence of the whole stone being encrusted with a grey lichen.[2]

[1] At Drumblade in Aberdeenshire there are said to have been several large stones with inscriptions. They were broken to pieces and removed previous to the year 1791.

[2] Letter from the Earl of Aberdeen to Mr. Stuart, in his *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, p. 2.

It seems to have been about the year 1803 that the inscription on the Newton Stone was first brought to notice, and in the following year it was examined by Lord Aberdeen. It was then in the lichen-covered state in which it had so long remained, and stood on a site from which, along with another columnar stone with remarkable sculptures, it has been removed to, near the House of Newton.[1] The stone bearing the inscription is of "quartsose gneiss, like many other stones in the vicinity,"[2] and is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height above ground. The inscription, which consists of forty-four characters placed in six lines of unequal length, commences about a foot from the top of the stone, on the face of which it occupies nearly a foot and a half. On the side and edge, and partly encroaching on the face of the stone, are a number of short lines or scores resembling and said to be an Ogham inscription.[3]

From a very interesting paper by Mr. Thomson of Banchory, read on the 8th February 1864 to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, it appears that he has obtained seven different interpretations of this inscription[4]—viz. two treating the character and language as Phœnician—one as Celtic—one as Greek—one as Latin—one as Egypto-

[1] These stones were removed about a mile, and are erected near the house of Alexander Gordon, Esq. of Newton.

[2] Letter of Professor Nicol of Aberdeen to Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory.

[3] If the inscription is Phœnician, may not these be Phœnician numbers, which are of a somewhat similar character?

[4] Mr. Thomson had disseminated photographs of this monument among many learned men and literary societies on the Continent, as well as in Britain.

Arabian—and one as the Hebrew language written in Arian characters.

"The following are the various translations which have been furnished of the inscription on the Newton Stone :—

"1st. *Phœnician*, by Dr. Mill.

"'To Eshmun, God of Health, by this monumental stone, may the wandering Exile of me, thy servant, go up in never-ceasing memorial, even the record of Han Thanet Zenaniah, Magistrate, who is saturated with sorrow.'

"2d. *Phœnician*, by Dr. Davis.[2]

"'A monument is placed (here). May the memory of the departed prove a blessing. He-fell (in this) solitary place and lay prostrate. Guard (the grave of) Atalthan, son of Pazach, (a man of) renown. Behold mother lamenting the treacherous calamity they have inflicted on her (or him).'

"3d. *Celtic*, by Padre ——.

"'Boundary of the Royal Field, the all-powerful O Aremin (doubtful), this stone (erected) a flock of sheep (he placed on the domain).'

"4th. *Latin*, by Mr. Wright, and *Greek*, by Simonides.

"'Here lies Constantinus, the son of . . .'"

[1] The late Dr. Mill, professor at Cambridge, well known for his general acquaintance with Oriental languages.

[2] Dr. Davis, who has done so much in the discovery and examination of remains at Carthage and other cities in the north of Africa.

"*Newton Stone Inscription.*

"At the meeting of the Antiquarian Society on Monday, 8th inst., considerable interest was excited in reference to this singular inscription. We have been favoured with a copy of the following letter on the subject, addressed to Alexander Thomson, Esq., of Banchory :—

"'My Dear Sir,—The kind manner in which you complied with my request, that you would favour me with one of the photographs of the Newton Stone inscription, requires that I should place in your hands, as early as possible, the enclosed *libellus*, containing, I hope, its successful decipherment. The characters are Egypto-Arabian. You will find that I read them thus :—

ATHoTHA	(Athothes.)
ASDoTH-DIMUM .	([Lord of] Ashdoth-Dimon.)
AIOLO-SOCO . . .	(Prince of Socoh.)
SaRKHaRa-ELIPHI .	(Superintendent of Eliphi.)
AMeNoPHI	(Amenophis.)
LOUOUT'-SaTHaR .	(Light of the Morning Star.)

The 'T' in *Louout'* is possibly, however, B or M.

"'Athothes and Amenophis are well-known Egyptian names ; Ashdoth-Dimon, '*Springs* of Dimon ;' for '*Waters* of Dimon,' see Is. xv. 9 ; 'Socoh' is from Josh. xv. 35, 48 ; 'Light of the Morning Star,' a personal name quite in accordance with Eastern taste.

"'The inscription is one of exceeding interest, not merely

in itself, as a relic probably of remote antiquity, but from the relation which its characters bear to those of other inscriptions which abound in one of the regions of the Arabian desert, and whose interpretation is still, so far as I know, a matter of dispute.

"'I beg, Sir, to thank you, and I am sure that all who take an interest in the earlier records of antiquity will join me, for your having brought before public notice what may yet prove of no ordinary archæological importance.—I am, my dear Sir, with highest esteem, your obedient servant,

"'J. E. BROWN.

"'24 Albany Street, North Leith,
"'17*th February* 1864.'"

A long and learned dissertation has been printed by Dr. Moore[1] to prove that the characters of the inscription are Arian, and the language Hebrew. It is thus rendered in English :

"In the tomb
With the dead [is] Aittie
The light of the darkness of a perverted people.
Who shall be consecrated pure priest
To God? Like the vessel
Of prayer my glory covered me."

Without venturing an opinion as to the characters employed, or the subject treated of in the inscription, it may be remarked that, however startling it may seem at first sight that

[1] George Moore, M.D., Hastings.

an ancient inscription, either in Phœnician or Hebrew, should be found in the lowlands of Aberdeenshire, there is in reality nothing improbable in such an event. The Phœnicians certainly visited and traded with South Britain, and most probably also with the inhabitants of Caledonia. The Hebrew and Phœnician letters and languages are not very different, and if they were more so it may be remembered that the Phœnicians doubtless employed, as they assuredly trafficked in, the "children of Israel."[1]

In Plate X. of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* the crescent and sceptre emblem are represented, and the angle formed by the lowest part encloses a figure similar to one of the letters, viz. of the inscription on the Newton stone.

The Celtic alphabets were orginally derived from the Phœnician, which may have been called Grecian by Cæsar.[2] The Grecian characters were derived from the Phœnician ; but the language of the inscription on the Newton stone, if it were not the work of a foreign people, would be Celtic. Therefore, although without evidence to the contrary, it would be reasonable to conjecture that the language of the inscription is Gaelic, the probability of its being in Phœnician characters, and possibility of its being in the Phœnician language, may be made sufficiently evident.

Commercial intercourse was carried on by Phœnician cities and colonies with Great Britain not only before the historical but even before the legendary period. That the adventurous traders and daring seamen, by whom the ancient world

[1] Joel iii. 6 ; Amos i. 6, 8, 9. [2] And Hecatæus.

Stone at Kinnellar Aberdeenshire. N°X.

was supplied with an article so indispensable as tin, would stop short at the nearest headland of Britain is contrary to all experience. Those who had circumnavigated Africa and discovered the Cassiterides would, we may be assured, pass on in search of still greater mineral wealth and other objects of trade, stimulated by what they had discovered in the Scilly Isles and south-western promontory of Britain.

Corn, cattle, skins, slaves, and dogs, unequalled in the chase and also used in war, were articles of export from Britain at the commencement of our era;[1] and furs, particularly that of the beaver, which was indigenous and abundant in Scotland,[2] we may reasonably infer were included in the general term skins. The wilds of Caledonia were certainly more likely than any other part of Britain to furnish all these articles with the exception of corn; even this, although not for export, was no doubt produced in those districts where the sculptured stones are found. The sculptured stones have been discovered only in or near the most accessible and fertile parts of the country bordering on the Caledonian forest, which occupied so much of the interior of Scotland, and extended its branches into every valley on the northern side of the river Tay.

From Cæsar, as before stated, we learn that the Gauls and Druids made use of Greek letters; and from the same author

[1] Strabo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. vi. For the hounds see Gratius, *Ibid.* p. lxxxix., and Oppian, p. xciii. Nemesianus also mentions the dogs of Britain.

[2] The duty to be levied on beavers' skins is mentioned in Acts of the Scottish Parliament in the reign of King David I.

we have reason to infer that they did not understand the Greek language.[1] A proof that among the Celtic people, as well as their Druids, writing was not uncommon, is to be derived from Cæsar's reason why it was not lawful for Druids to commit their doctrines to writing, for he says that the Druids enacted this law to prevent their mysteries becoming known to the vulgar.

It is worthy of remark that in Gaelic the word for incised writing corresponds with the Greek. Thus : Grabhad, a writing, an engraving ; Grabhaltaich, an engraver ;—the verb is Grabh, or Grabhal.

Many authorities, beginning with Herodotus,[2] and including Tacitus, state that the Phœnicians introduced alphabetic characters into Greece ;[3] and a comparison of the most ancient form of the Greek with the Phœnician letters appears to confirm this assertion, so far at least as regards the origin of the first limited number of Greek letters.[4]

Regarding the eastward extension of the Phœnician alphabetical characters, they are unhesitatingly pronounced by an

[1] If it be admitted that the island big as Sicily, and inhabited by the Hyperboreans, was Britain, we have another and an earlier reference to inscriptions in Greek characters having existed in the island.—See Diodorus Siculus, quoting Hecateus, b. ii. c. iii.

[2] Herodotus, *Terpsichore*, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lviii.

[3] See various authorities quoted in Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 157.

[4] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, Plates I. and II. ; and Humphrey's *History of Writing*, p. 91, and Plates V. and VI. Sir Gardner Wilkinson says the Greeks derived both the forms and names of their letters from the Phœnicians.—*Journal of Archæological Association*, vol. xii. p. 15.

The coincidence or common derivation of the words for incised writing in the Greek and Gaelic languages is remarkable. In Gaelic, to write (engrave) is Grabh, Grabhal ; an engraver or sculptor, Grabhaltaich.

eminent Sanscrit scholar to be the origin of those used in the cave inscriptions, which are the earliest specimens of Indian letters.[1]

Consequent on the advance of the Phœnicians, territorially and commercially, in the north of Africa and to the west of Europe, we find their inscribed monuments at Cyprus, Athens, Malta, Sicily, at Carthage (the eldest daughter of the Phœnician Tyre), at Gader (the modern Cadiz) ; and still farther to the north-west traces of Phœnician writings are found. This remark is quoted from Humphrey's *History of Writing;*[2] where it is added that at a very early period the Phœnicians had "planted the germs of a perfect alphabetical system in their colonies in the far west of Europe, which laid the foundation of many obscure Celtic alphabets."[3] A confirmation of this remark appears in the letters on the ancient coins of Spain and Gaul, and more particularly in Celtiberian alphabets.[4]

The list of places where Phœnician letters form part of the inscriptions might be extended by referring to the monuments of early nations in the Italian peninsula ;[5] but it is sufficient for the present to notice memorials found in situa-

[1] *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, by J. Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., pp. 34, 35. See also Thomas in his Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 146.

[2] Humphrey's *History of Writing*, p. 75.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 67.

[4] The Celtiberian alphabets are given in Akerman's *Ancient Coins of Spain, Gaul, and Britain.*

[5] The Etruscan alphabet, like the Pelasgic, the Greek, and other kindred alphabets, had its origin in Phœnicia (Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i. p. xlvi.)

In Italy, the Etruscan, the Sanscrit, and the Oscan inscriptions are all in a character closely allied to the pure Phœnician.—Humphrey's *History of Writing*, p. 75.

tions which are more likely to have been contiguous to the principal line of communication which connected Celtica and Britain with Phœnicia and her colonies.

In the sixth century of our era, near a fountain in Tingitana,[1] there were two pillars of white stone engraved with Phœnician letters ; the inscription being also in the Phœnician language, and the purport of it, according to Procopius, "We fly from the face of the robber Joshua, the son of Nun."[2] The existence of this monument is not doubted by any author, and great scholars[3] have even received as genuine its explanation as above given. Now, however, the concise notice of it by Gibbon is generally admitted to be more nearly correct :—"I believe in the columns—I doubt the inscription—and I reject the pedigree."

That part of Africa having undoubtedly received, at a very early period, Phœnician colonies, the existence of an inscription in their language may well be received on the authority of Procopius ;[4] but it is not probable that it was intelligible either to the historian or to the inhabitants of the country in the sixth century. The meaning therefore attributed to the inscription was probably traditionary and incorrect. In support of this position the fact may be cited, that on the opposite

[1] Tangier in Africa, near the north-western extremity of the Phœnician settlements on that continent.

[2] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 66, 67 ; Sammes, *Ancient Britons*, p. 141.

[3] Including Grotius and Selden, and lately Rawlinson.

[4] There is, however, an earlier writer who notices the inscription. "Procopius has been supposed to be the only, or at least the most ancient author who mentions this inscription ; it occurs, however, in the *History of Moses of Chorene*, who wrote more than a century before Procopius."—Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, article "Mauritania."

coast, at Gadez, the site of a great city and Phœnician colony, the inscription on the two columns in the temple of Hercules is stated, in the third century of our era, to be in unknown characters.[1] The pillars on which they were inscribed were then said to be formed of a mixture of gold and silver; but being in the same temple—viz. that of the Tyrian Hercules—there can be little doubt that they are the two pillars of brass, eight cubits high, mentioned by Strabo,[2] and on which he says were inscribed the items of expenditure for the building of the temple, which was the first erected, and for long continued the most famous in Western Europe. Its erection is said to have been coeval with the original establishment of the Tyrian colony at Gadeira—an event which is fixed by an historical date about eleven hundred years B.C.

A modern authority,[3] seeing that a different interpretation had been handed down,[4] by which this inscription was said to contain mystical doctrines, has suggested a very rational explanation. He conjectures that its contents resembled in substance those of the long inscription in the Phœnician language, discovered so lately as 1845, on a tablet found at Marseilles amongst the materials of a house which was demolished near the site of an ancient temple of Diana. The purport of this inscription is to fix the price of victims of different kinds that might be used for sacrifice in the house of Baal; together with the allowance to the priests, who seem to have

[1] See arguments and the authorities quoted in Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 65-68, 128.

[2] Strabo, b. iii. c. v.

[3] Kenrick, p. 128.

[4] By Philostratus.

required the lion's share, whilst they assigned the skin, the loins, and the feet to the master of the sacrifice.

The following extract from the Marseilles inscription, and the translation given in Kenrick's *Phœnicia*,[1] will serve as a specimen of this most remarkable monument of the Phœnician language :—"For an ox, perfect, whether purification or peace offering, perfect, to the priests ten pieces of silver for one. And the perfect offering shall be prepared for the altar, only the honorary portion shall remain to the weight of 150 zuz.[2] And in pieces it is cut and roasted, but the skin, and the loins, and the feet, and the remnants of the flesh are for the master of the sacrifice." The inscription proceeds with nearly a repetition of these paragraphs, only varying the money value according to the nature of the victims, some of whom are only called "thank-offerings." The victims mentioned are the ox, steer, he-goat, kid, lamb, young he-goat, or, in case of need, a deer, a bird, a waterfowl.

As we learn from Diodorus Siculus that Marseilles was the great emporium of British metals conveyed overland through France, the Phœnician inscription found there increases the probability of similar records having existed in Britain. The discovery of this tablet also encourages a hope that ancient fragmentary inscriptions may be preserved and brought to light among materials of early buildings in Britain. The foundations of Christian churches were often laid on the sites of heathen temples, and may yet yield up records of Phœnician traders or of the ancient inhabitants

[1] P. 175. [2] Zuz, equal to a drachma or denarius.

of Caledonia, for in such localities, or in their immediate neighbourhood, a majority of the stones sculptured with purely heathen emblems have been discovered.[1]

In the great dolmen near Mount Helu, on the shores of the Morbihan, are a few figures having a resemblance to the letters in the earliest form of Phœnician inscriptions. These characters, however, are so much obliterated that the original form, even the certainty that these marks were letters, cannot be clearly ascertained, otherwise it would bring home the inscribed letters of Phœnicia to a neighbouring country and kindred race; one, moreover, which we know to have had a powerful fleet and large vessels with which they traded to Britain. The capital of the Veneti stood in this part of their country, and wondrous Cyclopean monuments extend over the neighbouring district. The account of the fleet of the Veneti—the number, equipment, size of vessels, and extended trade—render it more than probable that this people owed much to Phœnician example. Certain it is that their fleet did not succumb to that of the Romans until after a long-continued battle, which during the whole day was watched by Cæsar and his army from the heights which are now remarkable for the most gigantic monuments of the Celtic race.

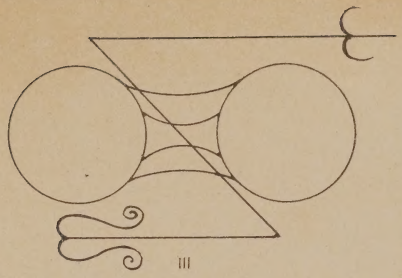
The cruel treatment of the Veneti by their conqueror would doubtless have been accompanied by a more complete destruction of their national monuments, had not their rude

[1] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates V. 2; VII. 1; VIII. 1; X. 2; XI.; XIII. 2; XIV.; XV. 1, 2; XII. 2; XXXII.; XXXVII.; XXXIX.; LXXI. 1; LIV. 1; XCII. 1; XCVI.; CII. 1, 2; CIX. 1, 2; CX.; CXI. 3; CXIII. 1, 2, 3; CIV. 1; CXXV; CXXXI. 1, 2; CXXXII., etc.

and ponderous materials bade defiance to ordinary exertion. The slaughter of the whole senate, and the slavery of the people by their ruthless conqueror, may in some measure account for the desolation which for nearly two thousand years has lingered in the peninsulas and islands of the Morbihan. The far-extending groups of unhewn columns, and hoary monoliths projecting through its heath-clad wastes, have been aptly compared in the picturesque narrative of Souvestre to the twisted and disjointed remains of some vast skeleton. Himself a native of Brittany, he has embodied in language of peculiar felicity the impressions and inspirations which he felt in viewing these mysterious indices of an unknown age.

It was at midnight, after being for hours bewildered on the dreary wastes of the peninsula of Intel, that Souvestre suddenly found himself in presence of the crowded lines of stone columns which extend in groups over the plain of Carnac. The solitude was unbroken except by the cry of the owl, and clear starlight showed the avenues of huge and hoary monoliths indefinitely extended. To his imagination, doubtless prompted by the native legend,[1] this seemed a vision of a phantom army, whose blanched files and gigantic members stood ready for the review of death.

[1] The inhabitants of the district have a legend—in some it is a belief—that these lines of columns were once ranks of pagan soldiers, who were turned into stone when they were about to seize a Christian saint of great local celebrity—viz. Saint Cornely.



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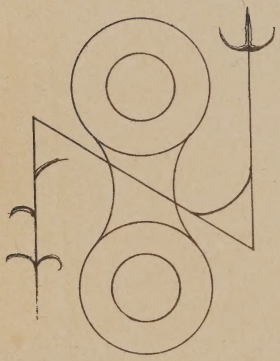

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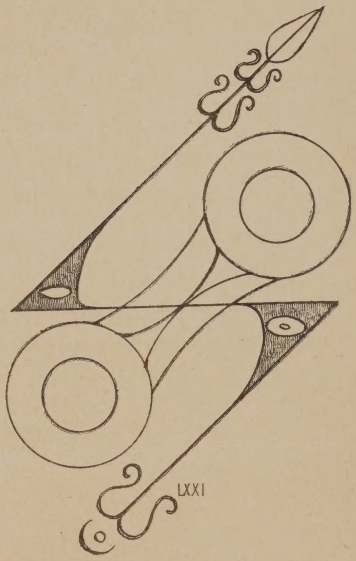

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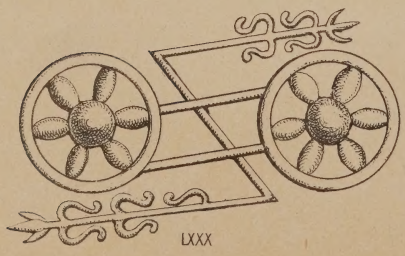


LXXX

CHAPTER XVII.

SCULPTURED HIEROGLYPHICS—EMBLEMS OF PLANETARY WORSHIP.

The Double Disc, Double Disc and Sceptre—An Emblem of Planetary Worship—Figure cut in Stone at Killiney closely resembles the Double Disc—Probably represents the Sun—Represents an Object of Inherent Motion—Altered and Embellished, found in connection with the Cross.—*Crescent, Crescent and Sceptre*—Represents the Moon—Druids sacrificed White Bulls to the Moon—Ashtoreth, Astarte—The Celestial Venus—Worshipped as a Conical Stone—Opposite Attributes assigned to her—This Emblem represents an Object of Inherent Motion.—*Serpent, Serpent and Sceptre*—An Emblem common to many Religions and Nations—Early Serpent Worship in Egypt, Palestine, and India; as Malignant; as Beneficent, or with Subtle Intelligence—Planetary and Serpent Worship—Superstitions regarding the Cobra di Capello—Remarkable Sculpture of Double Disc with Serpent and Sceptre—Æsculapius same as Phœnician—Esmun—Serpents on the Sculptured Stones probably have reference to Planetary Worship—Serpents sculptured in the Chambered Tumulus of Gavr-Innis in Brittany.—*The Elephant*—The Elephant of the Sculptured Stones is of the Asiatic not the African Type—Probably a Symbol in Planetary Worship—The Elephant, Crescent, and Goose, Emblems of Planetary Worship in Ceylon—Varuna, Ouranos.—*Fire Altar, Fire Altar and Sceptre and Hawk*—Represented Light and Heat—Worship of Fire by the Ancient Inhabitants of the British Isles—Superstitions and Ceremonies connected with Fire Worship still remain in Caledonia.

AMONG the Caledonian hieroglyphics hitherto delineated thirteen figures appear graven in simple outlines, and disconnected from any Christian symbol. Several of these may also be traced in various stages of progressive vitia-

tion as embellishments round the figure of the cross, until in some cases they appear highly ornamented, and the original form can with difficulty be recognised. Of these primitive figures four appear to have been pre-eminent as heathen objects of veneration, being generally found united to a sceptre, an emblem which by ancient authorities, sacred and profane, in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, is identified with supreme power.[1] The four figures allied with the sceptre I am inclined to class together as emblems of planetary worship ; but here I must repeat that where there is no direct evidence to guide the judgment, and the scattered data are so faintly traced, it is with extreme diffidence that an opinion is advanced as to the probable objects represented by the Caledonian hieroglyphics.

The most remarkable figure is the double disc and sceptre, which I imagine was in some way emblematic of the sun and connected with solar worship. In its simple form this hieroglyphic consists of two circles connected by four arcs of other circles, the convex sides of two being opposed to the convex sides of the other two connecting arcs, and thus in some cases giving the appearance of two crescents placed back to back, and connecting the two circles. Through these passes the sceptre at an angle of 45° to the diameter of both circles. The upper portion of the sceptre, after reaching beyond the highest points of the circles, again forms an angle of

1 See the word "Sceptre" in Cruden's *Concordance*.

In various places Homer mentions the sceptre, and in the second book of the *Iliad* shows, by the chastisement of Thersites, that in the hands of Ulysses the sceptre was more than an idle piece of pageantry. See also Herodotus, *Erato*, p. lxxv.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie Delr

Double Disk, at Killiney, Co. Dublin.

Keith & Gibb Lithogr.rs Aberdeen

45°, and in a direction parallel to the common diameter of the circles passes over, with its ornamental apex projecting beyond the right-hand circle. The inferior half of the sceptre having reached below the circles, forms a similar angle, and passes beneath, with its termination projecting beyond the circle on the left. The sceptre thus forms a zig-zag figure or inverted form of the letter Z, in the opposite angles of which the circles are partly included.

The double disc is one of the most common of the Caledonian hieroglyphics, and in about one-fifth part of the sculptures in which it appears the sceptre is wanting.[1] In many cases there are concentric circles, but in some the interior circles have not a common centre, but always have their centres on a diameter common to both circles.

In the *Archæologia Hibernica*[2] a stone is described and delineated which seems intended to represent the double disc. It is situated within an enclosure at Killiney formerly encircled by great stones. Of this rude sculpture the author remarks—"It is a work probably coeval with the ancient circle, and symbolical of the sun and moon." As the moon is commonly found represented by the crescent and sceptre on the same sculptured stones of Scotland on which are

[1] In the first volume of the *Sculptured Stones* there are thirty with and six without the sceptre.

[2] By Wakeman, pp. 53, 54.

I have visited this monument, and agree with Wakeman's account of it. It is much to be regretted that other stones composing it have not been left in their original position. It appears evident that what is called "the Druid judgment-seat," immediately adjoining this sculptured stone, has been formed by desecrating an ancient monument, and misplacing its materials.

The ruins of the ancient church of Killiney is in the immediate neighbourhood of this monument.

graven the double disc, I am inclined to consider that emblem as referring only to the sun, but in two different capacities—viz. as the bestower of light and warmth, from which were derived animal health and terrestrial fertility; or, more probably, of the sun in two different seasons—viz. when he advances to renew vegetation, and when in receding he brings the fruits of the earth to perfection; for the wheel with our ancestors was an emblem both of the summer and of the winter solstice.[1] In the *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* it is stated that there was at Palmyra an inscription—

ΑΓΛΙΒΩΛΩΚΑΙΜΑΛΑΧ
ΒΗΛΩΠΑΤΡΩΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣ,

which is translated "*To Agli-Belus and Malach Belus, native or country gods,* or, as some interpret it, *to the winter and summer sun,* for upon the marble on which this inscription was found he was both ways represented."[2] If the arguments and evidence which have been advanced are deemed sufficient to prove that the Caledonian sculptures represent objects of general and religious import, it would only remain to consider of what each emblem was originally the representative. Instead of the double disc, had it only been a circle, there might have been little hesitation in pronouncing it to be a representation of the sun, and, conjoined with the sceptre, an acknowledgment of his power, even of his supremacy, for the sceptre in this figure is always of a superior form to those that

[1] Brand's *Popular Antiquities,* and notes to Sir H. Ellis's *Summer Solstice.*

[2] Sammes, pp. 133-135; unfortunately how the sun was represented is not mentioned.

are in connection with the crescent, the serpent, and the altar. As it is, the reasons in favour of this being an emblem of the sun are so strong that they outweigh any other proposition.

In other chapters are described[1] the former prevalence, and later continuance in a modified form, of solar worship in Britain. Here it is only necessary to recapitulate that the Druids worshipped Apollo, who it was supposed averted disease ; that they professed to know the motions of the heavens and the stars ; that the Britons cultivated magic with so much enthusiasm as to suggest to Pliny that it might have been from Britain that the Persians derived the rites and practices of the Magi. Without the presence of one of the Magi the Persians deemed a sacrifice unlawful.[2] It was the same with the Druids. The Persians adored the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds.[3] That these were also objects of worship among the ancient Britons there i sthe testimony of Greek and Roman writers, confirmed by the earliest British author,[4] and by civil and ecclesiastical records[5] amplified by an examination into superstitions which are the remains of pagan rites in Britain.

The double disc and sceptre appearing in various positions

[1] Under the heads of "Ancient Religion of Britain," "Baal and Beltane," are given proofs, not only of the worship of the sun and the moon by our pagan ancestors, but that it was to a certain extent preserved by their Christian successors, although apologetically called superstitious.

[2] Herodotus, *Clio*, cxxxii. ; Strabo, b. iv. s. 5 ; Diodorus Siculus.

[3] Herodotus, *Clio*, cxxxi.

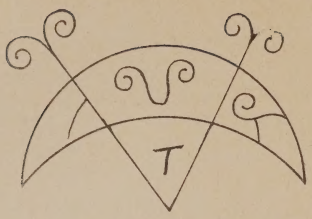
[4] Gildas.

[5] See "Pœnitential and Confessional," "Canons of Edgar," "Laws of Cnut," in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England.*

in different pieces of sculpture—horizontal,[1] inclined,[2] vertical, and reversed[4]—is an important fact, tending to prove this figure to be the representative of what its authors believed to be a moving object. This remark equally applies to the crescent and sceptre. The serpent and sceptre of course represent a motive object. There is one other figure, which I have termed a fire-altar, found in combination with a sceptre of a peculiar form. This figure being always represented in one position—viz. standing upright—when contrasted with the varied positions of the others just mentioned, is in some degree corroborative of *their* being representatives of objects believed to possess inherent motion. It may be remarked regarding this emblem that in later sculptures,[5] evidently after the introduction of Christianity, the double disc is made in the form of two wheels; and this suggests a possible connection between such a figure and the burning wheel, which was made to represent the descent of the sun in the ceremonies practised at the summer solstice.[6]

I at one time doubted whether it were possible that the double disc with its connecting curves could be intended to represent the peculiar form of oblong shield which was used by the Britons, and of which a fine specimen may be seen in the British Museum; and whether the object which I have called a double-angled sceptre could be a spear, under which form the

[1] *Sculptured Stones*, Plates III. 2; VI. 2; XXXIX.
[2] *Ibid.* LXXI. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* V. 2.
[4] *Ibid.* VII. 1; LXVII. 2; XCVII. In the two last of these plates the sceptre is with two heads.
[5] *Ibid.* LXXX. etc.
[6] Mentioned under the head of "Beltane."



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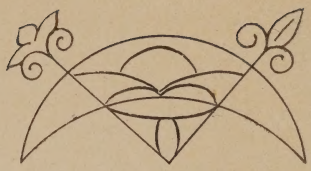

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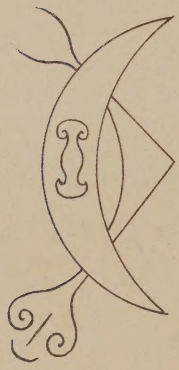

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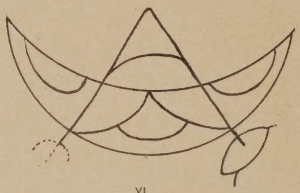

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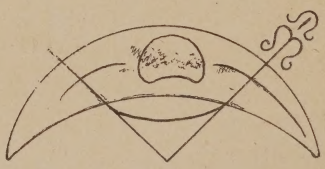

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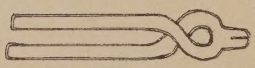


XLVII

XXII.

Sabines worshipped the god Quirinus. Although I soon saw reason to abandon this idea, yet the derivation of an ancient Caledonian emblem from an early Italian race will not, I believe, be considered unworthy of examination by those who have studied the affinities of language that have been developed between the Kelts of Britain, particularly of Caledonia, and the earliest inhabitants of the Italian peninsula. For this fact may be quoted a late work by Professor Newman, who says[1] —"In so far as language is any test of blood, it would appear that the Sabines and the Gaels are of nearer kindred than Irish and Welsh;" and in the work on ethnology, published in 1859 by Dr. Latham,[2] it is stated that "much of the blood of the Romans was Kelt; and so is much of the Latin language."

Crescent and Sceptre.

Next to the double disc and double-angled sceptre, the crescent and sceptre are the most prominent of Caledonian hieroglyphics, and are often found graven in the same monolith with the former. The handle of the sceptre which is united to the crescent forms only one angle, but is so placed as to pass through and leave both its ornamented ends projecting beyond the convex side of the crescent. The arguments employed in the preceding and other chapters[3] strongly tend to the conclusion that this figure was an emblem connected with the worship of the moon, or some deity considered as its representative.

[1] *Regal Rome*, pp. 49, 50.
[2] *Descriptive Ethnology*, vol. ii. p. 38.
[3] Particularly the article on the "Worship of the Moon."

Amongst the most ancient British coins two crescents connected at the extremity of their convex sides are not uncommon,[1] and they appear on one of the sculptured stones found at Kintore,[2] and in a mutilated form in a later semi-Christian sculpture.

In Ceylon, Bali, or planetary worship, is still practised, and the circle and crescent which may be seen graven on rocks were placed as emblems of the sun and the moon, and when graven at the top of an ancient grant of land are also considered as representations of royalty and duration.[3]

The Druids called the misletoe by a name having the signification of "all healing," and when found growing on the oak, and cut by them with due ceremonies, at the proper time of the moon, it was believed to be endued with extraordinary healing properties. At the same time the Druids sacrificed to the moon white bulls that had never known the yoke.[4]

The moon, "the Queen of Heaven," was worshipped as Mithra,[5] Ashtaroth, Astarte, Mylitta, Alitta, Aphrodite, Venus

[1] Akerman's *Ancient Coins*, "Britannia," pp. 187, 188, 195.

[2] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate CXI. In another of the sculptured stones found at Kintore the double disc is united by two crescents in this same form. Many others of the double discs are united by crescents so placed. Whether this is intentional on the part of the sculptor may be doubtful.

[3] In the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* it is mentioned that near Cargill in Perthshire stood large columnar stones, on which were carved the figure of the moon and stars. The field in which these stones stood was called the "moon-shade."—*Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v. xiii. p. 536; Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 465.

[4] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. civ. It is disputed whether in this passage Pliny describes the misletoe or the moon as the "all-healing" of the Druids.

[5] Herodotus, *Clio*, cxxxi. In India, Mao, the moon-god; Nania, the moon-goddess.

Urania, in Persia, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, Phœnicia, Lybia, along the whole coast of Northern Africa, and in Spain. The goddess was at first acknowledged by the simple emblem of a conical stone.[1] In later periods, as Venus, she was worshipped in many places under various forms and different rites, and to her were ascribed the most opposite attributes. In some localities as the celestial Venus she represented light, or dignity, love, and purity; in others passion, licence, and obscenity; and with these worst characteristics, in later times, her worship seems to have been generally identified. In both these forms, contradictory as they are, the worship of Venus may, I think, be detected by the monuments and superstitions in the Celtic countries of Western Europe. It is not improbable that the celestial Venus with martial attributes, as she was worshipped by the Phœnicians and their Carthaginian colonists,[2] had also a representative amongst the Celtic deities in Gaul and Britain, where it was brought into contact with, if it were not derived from, the religious system of the Phœnicians in Spain.[3]

In treating of the "double disc" figure an opinion has been expressed that such an emblem being represented in various positions suggests the idea that it is intended to symbolise an object of inherent motion. This remark equally ap-

[1] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, Ashtaroth, or Astarte, the celestial Venus, p. 301, etc. Her temple at Ascalon, of all places for her worship, was by far the most ancient.—Herodotus, *Clio*, cv.

[2] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 405.

[3] In Gadeira (Cadiz) there were temples of the Phœnician Saturn, Hercules, and Astarte, who was by the Greeks recognised as Venus, if we may judge by their giving the name of Aphrodisias to the island on which her temple was situated.—Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. iv.; Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 128.

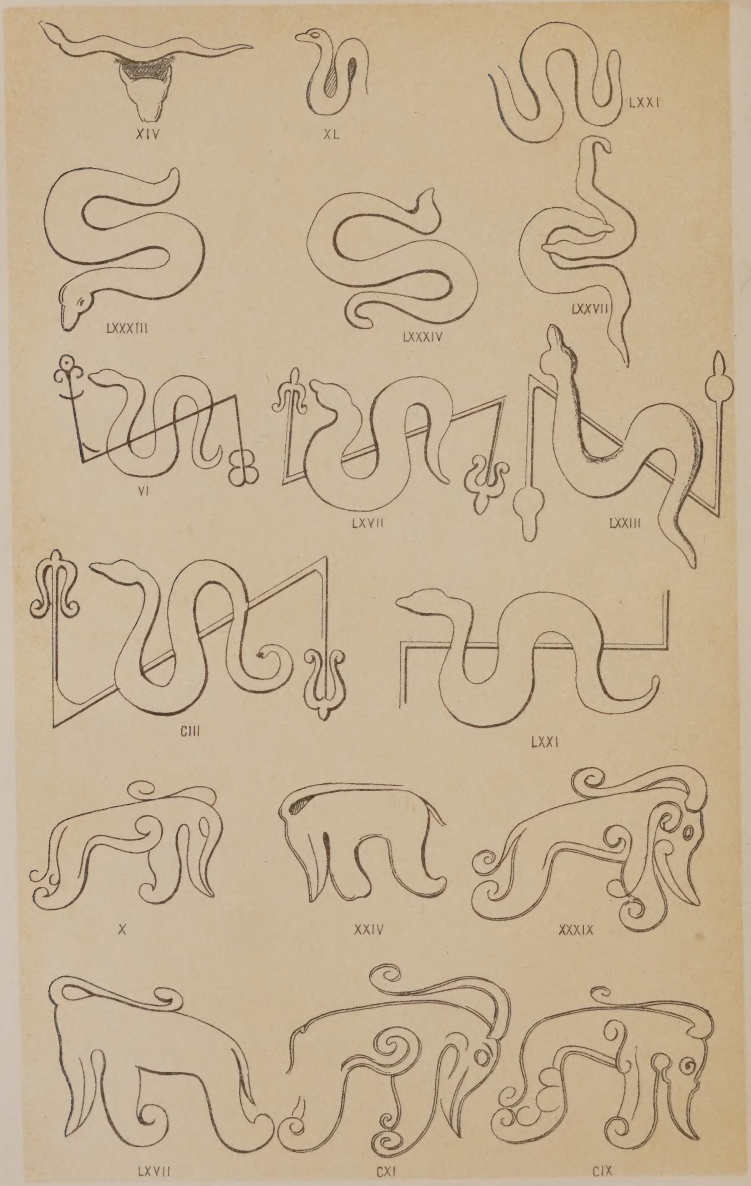
plies to the crescent, which, although usually graven in Caledonian sculptures with the cusps turned down, is occasionally to be seen in the reverse position,[1] and also with the cusps on a vertical line, pointing to the right.[2] If we suppose the double disc and sceptre at the top of the sculpture in Plate XCVII. of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* to be an emblem of the sun, it is not unreasonable to imagine the figure below —viz. a rude representation of a face with horns—to be a symbol of the moon, and this leads to a comparison of these horns with somewhat similar figures marked in the crescent in Plate X, and less distinctly in other sculptures of the same emblem. Certain it is that horns in some form are a usual accompaniment of the various figures or emblems intended for representations of the moon as an object of worship. In Egyptian hieroglyphics the figure which stands for a month is a representation of the moon as it appears near the termination of the last quarter,[3] and it may be worthy of consideration whether the crescent and sceptre may not, in some of the Caledonian sculptures, have reference to a period of time or to certain periods of the moon's age, which we know were particularly regarded by the Druids in the celebration of their festivals and mysteries.[4]

[1] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates XI. CXI.

[2] *Ibid.* Plate XXXII. 2. The influence which the moon was supposed to exercise on mankind, as well as on inanimate objects, may be traced in the practices of the Druids. It is not yet extinct in Scotland; and the moon in the increase, at the full, and on the wane, are emblems of prosperity, established success, or declining fortune, by which many persons did, and some still do, regulate the period for commencing their most important undertakings.

[3] Wilkinson's *Egyptians;* Humphrey's *History of Writing*, p. 42.

[4] The resemblance of the planet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CIX

In the figure marked XII. in the plate at the commencement of this article will be seen, within the crescent, what may be designed to represent the moon partly eclipsed.

Serpent—Serpent and Sceptre.

In periods of the most remote antiquity the worship of the serpent seems to have been contemporaneous with, if it were not a portion of, planetary worship. The serpent allegorical,[1] emblematical, or real, obtrudes itself on our notice in all ancient religions, and is exhibited in three different aspects—viz. as an astronomical myth, as an emblem of malignant power, and as the representative of healing properties or benignant protection, as the emblem of Æsculapius and the guardian genius of all medicinal springs.

The pictorial representations in the tomb discovered by Belzoni at Thebes prove that serpent-worship with human sacrifices was practised by the ancient Egyptians. As the Jews worshipped the brazen serpent before Hezekiah broke it in pieces, after it had endured for upwards of seven centuries,

Venus in certain phases to the crescent and figures marked on it, in some of the Caledonian sculptures, is very remarkable (compare Plates IV. 2 and XII. 1 in *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, with Venus in Plate XXXVI. vol. ii. of *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*). But to regard this figure as symbolical of the planet Venus would be in opposition to previous authorities, which generally recognise the crescent as the emblem of the moon. It would also involve the necessity of admitting that those who designed the sculpture had instruments by which they could note marks on the face of a planet, although they are invisible to the naked eye.

[1] In Aglio's *Mexican Antiquities* the serpent is unmistakably the rattlesnake, and in position is entirely different from the serpents on the sculptured stones of Scotland.

It may thus be seen in an obscene sculpture of Indian workmanship in the British Museum.

we may conclude that the worship of the serpent was part of the paganism of the Philistines.[1] In India even to this day it is common with Hindus when attacked by fever to make an image of a serpent either in brass or in clay, and to perform certain ceremonies in its honour.[2]

On the summit of the tower of Belus at Babylon there were two exceeding great serpents formed of silver.[3] In the vicinity of Thebes there were serpents that were deemed sacred.[4] The Athenians believed that a large serpent defended the temple of their citadel.[5] In the time of Alexander the Great two serpents were kept and worshipped at Taxila. The serpent figures in Hindu mythology,[6] and the expanded hood of the Nága shades and supports the sitting figures of the Buddha. Coins of Tyre represent a serpent twined around a tree ;[7] and Virgil describes the offerings made by Æneas to the serpent that glided from the tumulus of Anchises.

There is another quality generally assigned to the serpent —subtilty or wisdom. In the New,[8] as well as in the Old Testament,[9] this property is referred to, and it is to be discerned alike in ancient mysteries and modern superstitions of

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

[2] Whether by this practice it is intended to honour a benignant power and healing properties, or to deprecate a malignant influence, may be doubtful; perhaps the patient has both objects in view.

[3] Diodorus Siculus, b. ii. c. i.

[4] Herodotus, *Euterpe*, lxxiv.

About 60 miles inland from Tripoli Barth observed a stone, in a ruined building, on which a serpent and centaur were sculptured.—Barth's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 79.

[5] Herodotus, *Urania*, xli.

[6] There is a Hindu festival celebrated in Western India called the Nag-Panchamee. It is in honour of demigods who have, in whole or in part, the form of the Naga, or cobra di capello.

[7] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, Plate II.

[8] Matt. x. 16.

[9] Gen. iii. 1, etc.

the East and the West—in Ceylon and the Indian peninsula, in Armorica, and the British Islands. Subtilty or wisdom, attributed to the serpent, may have had its origin in the reptile being seen to squeeze itself through crevices or between rocks, and thus to cast off its slough.[1] By this act it was supposed to renew its youth,[2] which may account for its having become an emblem of immortality, and possibly for its being considered symbolical of the twice-born Hindu, as well as of the regenerate Christian.

Among the Celts of Western Europe a serpent's egg was supposed to ensure success to its fortunate possessor. This superstition, and the fable regarding the formation of the egg, are recorded by Pliny,[3] and there still lingers amongst the Celtic population of the British Isles a belief in the power of the *Glain-naider*, or adder gem, or, as it was also called, *Glaine-nan-Druidhe*,[4] Druid's glass—names given to the supposed serpent's egg. Pliny does not seem to question that serpents possess a certain amount of intelligence when he says that many persons are of opinion that it only extends to the power of counteracting incantations.[5]

In whatever quarter of the globe portraiture, sculpture, his-

[1] It was a superstition common in England that the skin cast off by a serpent, if bound round a woman in labour, would insure her speedy delivery.—Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Ellis, vol. ii. p. 42.

[2] The dragons of Medea cast off their age and skin of many years.—Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, b. vii. fable ii.

[3] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. cv.

[4] The little stone which St. Columba sent to Brudeus, king of the Picts, and which gave healing powers to water poured on it, was probably a Glain-Naider. Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, which he completed in the sixteenth century, mentions the belief of the people that water in which such a charm was dipped would cure any animal suffering from the bite of a poisonous snake.

[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. xxviii. c. iv.

tory, or tradition has preserved to us a knowledge of the ancient rites of heathen nations the serpent seldom if ever fails to appear as an object connected with religion.[1] The serpent in the Caledonian sculptures may be partly an astronomical as well as a religious emblem, particularly when connected with the sceptre. It will be perceived that the sceptre in this emblem has its extremities of a different form from that found in conjunction either with the double disc, the crescent, or the altar.

In ancient Iranian mythology there is Mithra, Lord of Light, opposed to Ashi, the serpent; in Ceylon, Mitra or Surya,[2] the sun, and Asi (or Ahi) the serpent.[3] This is also a name of Rahu, the great serpent of Cingalese mythology,[4] the enemy of the sun and moon. When Rahu for a time obtains temporary power, seizing with his mouth the sun or moon, the result is an eclipse of one of the great luminaries.[5] If it be permitted to interpret heathen mythology by common sense, and to regard the enmity and enduring struggle between Rahu, the serpent, and the sun, as an allegory, it may refer to an historical fact—viz. the conflict in the earliest ages between planetary[6] and serpent[7] worship. Both these existed in Ceylon prior to the era of Gautanu Buddha in the sixth century

[1] See various authorities quoted in *Quæstiones Mosaicæ*, c. iii. p. 85, etc.

[2] In Cingalese, Asu signifies life, spirit, existence. In the Rig-Veda, Asura is applied to the sun and to fire.—*India Three Thousand Years Ago*, by Dr. John Wilson, Bombay.

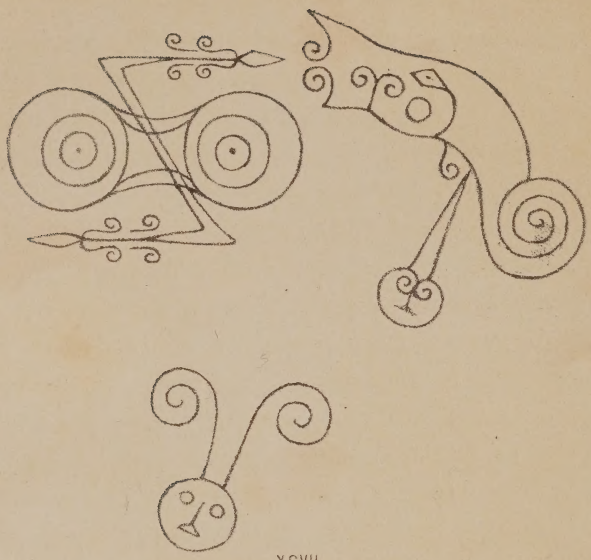
[3] Apollo and Python ?

[4] Rahu is also the ascending node in Cingalese astrology; also a chief in Patala, "the world of serpents."

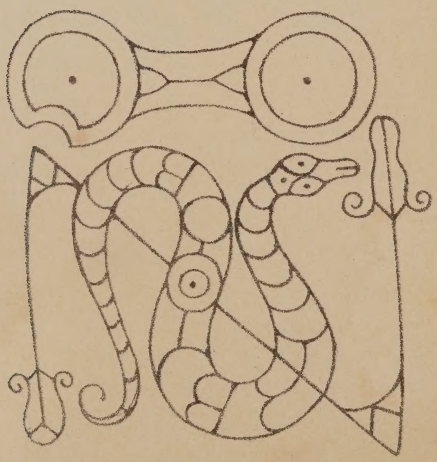
[5] The Chinese, it is said, also attribute eclipses to the malignity of a dragon.

[6] In Ceylon, the Bali (planetary) worship is by no means extinct; and

[7] Nága (snake) worship may still be traced in the literature as well as in existing superstitions of that island.



XCVII.



XXXVII.

B.C. One of the remnants of Nága, or snake worship, in that country is the impunity enjoyed by the cobra di capello, as the natives will not kill this dangerous reptile, although they catch and transport it to the grounds of a neighbouring village, where they have less chance of suffering from its bite. Another superstition I learned at an inquest held on a Kandian who had died from the bite of a hooded snake—viz. that if any one had enmity against the person bitten, and expressed his wishes against the sufferer within an entire day[1] after the event, the imprecations would certainly take effect. The man in consequence concealed the cause of his illness until it was too late for antidotes to have any effect. These superstitions are confined to the hooded snake, with regard to which the natives have many legends referring to its intelligence and amiable character, as contrasted with the malignant dispositions and mischievous attacks of all other poisonous serpents. In the little island of Nainativoe, near the coast of Ceylon, there is a small temple sacred to Naga-Tambiran (the serpent-god), in which a number of cobra-capellos are daily fed by the Pandarams.[2]

In one of the Caledonian sculptures[3] the double disc is without the sceptre, and has a portion of its circumference cut off by an arc of another circle, immediately beneath which is the figure of the serpent with the sceptre. This may be an accidental coincidence, but nevertheless this sculpture is a pictorial

[1] Or, as they called it, one revolution of the sun.

[2] *Ceylon Gazetteer* of Simon Casie-chitty.

[3] Plate XXXVII. 1. This sculptured stone when first discovered stood near another on which an inscription was afterwards detected. They are now again near each other at Newton, in the Garioch.

representation of what I have already mentioned as the belief of various Eastern nations in regard to eclipses. Another sculpture[1] may also, without much help from imagination, be taken as a representation of the sun, moon, and serpent.

From the deadly venom with which the serpent aggravated its bite the reason why it was considered an emblem of malignant power is naturally deduced. The origin of its character for subtilty I have endeavoured to account for by the manner in which it changed its skin, and the belief that in so doing it renewed its youth. It is with attributes subtle and malignant that the serpent appears in the first book of Moses. In Buddhist mythology, or rather a Hindu mythology which has been fastened on Buddhism in Ceylon, the serpent Rahu is said to have obtained by stealth a draught of the water of life, and thus to have become immortal. Then transferred to the planetary regions Rahu vainly strives to vent his malignity by the destruction of the sun and moon.

Now comes to be considered the serpent as an emblem of healing properties or benignant protection. In the East the expanded crest of the hooded snake is often represented in Buddhist sculptures shading and supporting the seated figure of Gautama; and as we approach the Western world and Europe the serpent appears as the emblem of Æsculapius, "the representative or the personification of the healing powers of nature"—the offspring of Helios, Apollo, the Sun.[2]

It has been already noticed that occasionally Hindus at-

[1] Plate XCVII. of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland.*

[2] Smith's *Mythological and Biographical Dictionary*, "Æsculapius"

tacked with fever make a figure of the serpent either in brass or clay, and perform ceremonies in its honour. Serpents were supposed to be the guardians of medicinal wells, and of all fountains believed to possess sanative properties. These were everywhere to be found in Britain, and after the introduction of Christianity became holy wells, most of them being thereafter transferred to the care of a guardian saint.[1]

From the nature of the Druidical religion, facts gleaned from ancient authors, and the later superstitions of Britain, I am inclined to consider the serpent of the sculptured stones as connected with planetary worship and the healing powers. But another theory is not altogether unworthy of consideration, being, however, founded in a great degree on Hindu or Buddhist mythology. I would not have ventured to bring it to notice were it not that Sanscrit, and its cognate languages in the East, are now admitted to be intimately allied with the Celtic dialects of Western Europe, and therefore it cannot be deemed unreasonable to compare coincidences appearing in the mythologies of Sanscrit and Celtic countries. These have not only derived much of their language, but also seem to have acquired the forms of their most ancient monuments and many customs from a common source.

Cæsar states that the Gauls pretended to derive their origin from Dis, Pluton, a word that alike signifies the lower

is by some writers supposed to be identical with the Phœnician god Esmun.

Dr. Mills believed the inscription on the Newton stone to record a sacrifice that had been offered to Esmun. This stone is in the centre of Aberdeenshire, and is referred to in the chapter on "Inscriptions."

[1] See chapter on "Fountains."

regions and their ruler. So also in Cingalese mythology Nagendra[1] is the ruler of a lower world inhabited by a serpent race endowed with intelligence. His name is derived from Nága, hooded snake, and Indra, chief. Indra is not only chief over certain inferior deities, but is a great divinity, the personification of the firmament, the sky, the atmosphere, and atmospheric phenomena. Nága also signifies an elephant, although it is not commonly used in that sense. Nagendra thus represents the ruler of the lower world, king of serpents and of elephants endowed with intellect. I refer to these facts because the elephant, as well as the serpent, is one of the most common, and its figure there amongst the most difficult of explanation of any that appear in Caledonian hieroglyphics. The probability that Nagendra, as ruler of the lower world of serpents and elephants, represents a mystical and cosmical allegory, is increased by Nága[2] being a name for the ascending node. This is rendered still more likely by another appellation by which Nagendra is represented—viz. Ananta, which besides being a synonyme of Nagendra, also signifies eternal, infinite, the sky, the atmosphere. As the worship of atmospheric phenomena and the "whole host of heaven" formed, I believe, the principal basis of the heathenism of our ancestors in Caledonia, there is thus observable at least an approximation in original objects, it may be also in the emblems of worship, of an Arian race in the "utmost Indian isle Taprobane," and the islands that formed the western limit of a Celtic population.

[1] Nagendra—Nága, Indra.

[2] Nága, although used to express the ascending node, is less commonly used than Ráhu.

On opening the cairn of Clunemore, near Blair-Atholl, a large bronze ring was found, one of the ends of which terminated in the figure of a Nága, or hooded snake's head. This cairn is described in 1787 as a beautiful green mound, called by a Gaelic name signifying "the Fairy Hill." On its summit there remained at that time two side stones of the altar, and graven on these might be observed hieroglyphics, but so much defaced as to be unintelligible to the author of this description.[1]

Notwithstanding that the subterranean chamber in the mound of Gavr-Innes[2] is covered with sculpture, the only representation of an animate object is that of the serpent. It is twice represented, well executed, and very distinct.[3]

Lightning, the thunderbolt, was personified in a heathen deity of the Gaels—viz. *Beir*, or Beither. A synonyme for Beir, the thunderbolt, is Tein-Adhair, ethereal fire; and Beither is also a dragon or serpent as well as lightning.[4]

The Elephant.

In treating of the serpent, circumstances have been noted that seem to imply a connection between objects emblematically represented by the serpent and by the elephant of the

[1] Wilson's *Archæology*, p. 449.

[2] Gavr-Innes, an island in the Morbihan sea, Brittany.

[3] The only distinct figure of an inanimate object was that of a knife, which was twice represented, and near this were graven angular figures that may have been intended for stone hatchets—celts—one of which, sharp and highly-polished, is in possession of the owner of the only house on the island. A sculpture, termed and pointed out as a fern leaf, did not appear to me distinctly to represent that object.

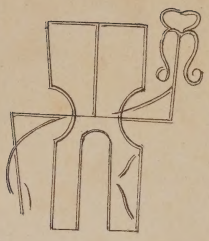
[4] See the chapter on "Worship of Atmospheric Phenomena."

Caledonian hieroglyphics; and in some cases having reference to astral or atmospheric worship. In Caledonian sculpture the elephant is unmistakably but not accurately represented, and from this circumstance it has been inferred that the figure has been graven by those who had never seen an elephant or its exact representation. This is a natural, but not, I think, a correct conclusion, to the extent at least intended by the remark; for, to those who have examined the rude figurative sculptures and paintings of the East, the *termination* of the feet of the elephant in scrolls is clearly of Oriental origin; the whole outline also testifies to the same descent and to a form carefully preserved and rigidly maintained in the early or purely heathen sculptures. The form of the head of the sculptured elephant is that of the Asiatic, not of the African elephant.

The Henza, a species of goose—the Singha, lion—the Nága, hooded snake—and the elephant, are all in some degree sacred mythological emblems in Buddhist countries; yet in those places where they are daily to be seen they are found delineated in peculiar and unnatural forms—apparently the result of caprice in the earliest artists, who invented types that have been religiously adhered to by succeeding ages.

In the pagan and planetary worship of Ceylon three of the figures commonly traced by the person who performs the ceremonies are the elephant, the goose,[1] and the crescent, for the moon. In Cingalese, Warana or Waruna is used for a

[1] It is a curious coincidence that the elephant and crescent are found in the Caledonian hieroglyphics; and the goose was not allowed to be eaten by the ancient Britons, as was noticed by Cæsar.



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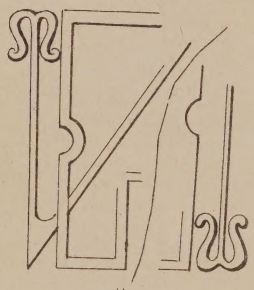

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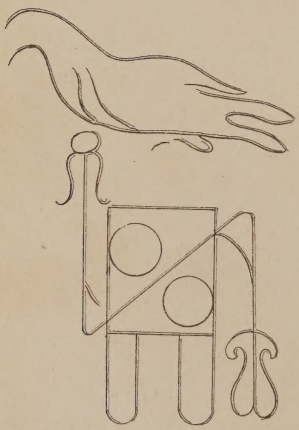

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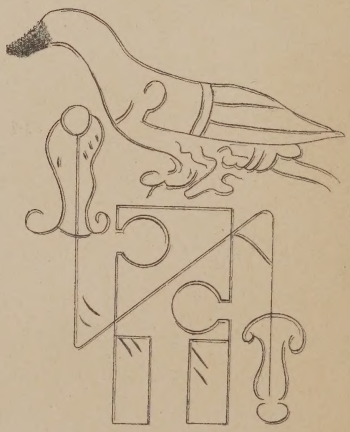


XIII

tusk elephant. It also signifies the setting sun—or rather, the place where it sets—and is thus used as "the west." Varuna, or Waruna, in the earliest periods, is to the Hindus the god of the encircling canopy of heaven[1]—the Ouranos (Ουρανος) of the Greeks. In later times Varuna by the Hindus is considered the god of the ocean, and from them the Cingalese have adopted him in that capacity, as well as recognised his power as general over the waters of the earth.

Fire-Altar.

The form of this figure, and the arguments now to be stated, have induced me to call it a fire-altar, and to imagine that it is one of a group connected with planetary worship as a representative of light and heat. I have remarked in regard to the double disc and the crescent that, being represented in various positions, they are probably emblems of objects having inherent or apparent motion. On the contrary, the altar is invariably placed upright. The sceptre that forms a part of this emblem is double-angled or zig-zag, and in this respect, but not in the form in which its ends terminate, resembles those that cross the double disc and the serpent. The sceptre with the altar is commonly represented passing between two circles,[2] or arcs of a circle,[3] in such a manner that either by

[1] Dr. John Wilson's *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, p. 70. The elephant is the symbolical object of the earth-goddess worshipped in Chinna-Kimmedy by a tribe of the Khonds—British subjects who lately did, possibly still do, practise abominable rites and offer human sacrifices.

[2] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates XV. XVII.

[3] *Ibid.* Plates XII. XIII. XXXIII.

accident or design it offers a representation of the double disc and sceptre.

Perceiving that the double disc was never represented in the same sculpture with the present figure first led me to suppose that they are only different emblems, perhaps representing different attributes also, of the same object of worship. This may likewise be the case with the crescent and fish, and with the serpent and horse-shoe figures.

Light, then fire, the sun, and the "whole host of heaven" seem successively, and at last collectively, to have become objects of worship to the Arian race; but first of all light, which was to them preëminently the object of adoration in Northern India previous to the period of the collection or composition of the hymns of the earliest Hindu Veda, or, in round numbers, thirty-five centuries ago.

The Persians venerated fire as a divinity,[1] and Pliny exclaims that the magic of Persia might apparently have been learned from the practices of the Britons. There is abundant evidence to show that our heathen ancestors worshipped the sun and moon. It might therefore reasonably be inferred that in Britain, as in other countries, fire would be substituted as typical of the great luminary—of its light and its heat—and become an object of adoration, when the sun was obscured or invisible in seasons set apart for celebrating the religious rites of a Sabian worship. But we are not dependent on inference, however rational, for a knowledge of the fact that fire was an object of adoration to our heathen ancestors, even so

[1] Herodotus, *Thalia*, xvi.

late as the eleventh century ; for in the laws of Cnut fire appears as one of the objects the worship of which is forbidden.

The following description of a ceremony which was annually practised in a parish of Perthshire would appear to have reference to the worship of fire, and perhaps of light :—" On the evening of the 31st October (Hallowe'en) heath, broom, and dressings of flax are tied upon a pole. The faggot is then kindled ; one takes it on his shoulders, and running, bears it round the village ; a crowd attend. When the first faggot is burnt out, a second is bound to the pole and kindled in the same manner as before. Numbers of these blazing faggots are often carried about together, and when the night happens to be dark they form a splendid illumination."[1]

These ceremonies were not confined to Scotland, for processions with blazing torches proceeded through the villages and around the Midsummer-Eve fires of Cornwall in the present century.[2] On this eve, and on Hallowe'en, many other ceremonies connected with fire and divination were practised ;[3] and it was a common belief, both in Scotland and Ireland, that on Midsummer-Day all fires were formally extinguished and afterwards lighted from a fire kept alive or kindled by the Druids.

Ceremonies in the Hebrides, or West Isles of Scotland, described by Martin,[4] also appear to be derived from fire-worship. They were practised with the object of arresting a murrain.

[1] *Statistical Account of Scotland*, " Parish of Logierait, Perthshire."

[2] Polwhele's *History of Cornwall*, vol. i. p. 50, etc.

[3] Burns' *Poems*, notes to " Hallowe'en ;" and Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, " Hallowe'en " and " Shannach."

[4] *Account of the Western Isles*, p. 113.

In this case all fires in the island were first extinguished, and afterwards lighted from the Tin-Egan [forced fire],—fire produced by friction through the combined exertions of the people employed in these rites.

Under the head of "Baal, Beltane, and Astarte" have been noticed some of the many customs connected with or derived from the worship of fire, as well as forms of purification and ordeal by that element, and votive offerings made to fire. It appears unnecessary here to multiply corroborative circumstances when there is sufficient direct evidence of the fact that our heathen ancestors worshipped fire, that practices derived from fire-worship continued up to the present century,[1] and that Beltane fires were numerous in Aberdeenshire in 1864.

There is a figure of circular form above, and connected with a stand, which, but for the stand, might represent a mirror. It is also of larger size than the mirror is usually represented, and in No. 1, Plate XV., the mirror is on the same sculpture. This figure is seen in Nos. 1 and 2 of Plate XV. and 1 and 2 of Plate CXIII.

There is also a figure which consists of a large circle, having close on each side a smaller circle, about one-fourth the diameter of the large one. These three circles have their centres on the same line, along which is sometimes drawn a single or a double line. In sculptures of a later date the two smaller circles are made to represent moveable rings. The figure is sometimes called a fibula.

[1] On Hallowe'en (old style) 1864 many Beltane fires were visible in Aberdeenshire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SCULPTURED HIEROGLYPHICS.

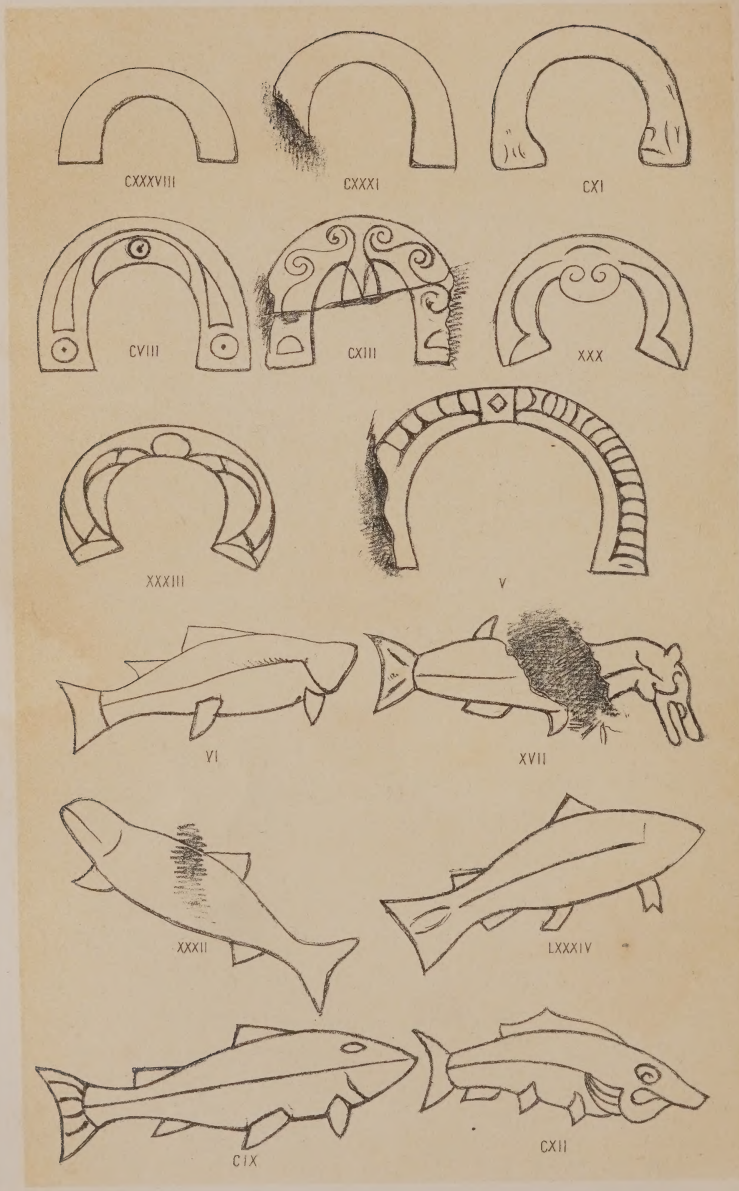
Figure resembling a Horse-Shoe—Represents some Beneficent and Protecting Power—The Horse-Shoe has inherited the supposed Virtues of this Emblem—Is found inserted in Christian Churches—Is still commonly to be observed on Buildings and in Ships—Was used by Witches.—*The Fish*—May be an Emblem of the Celestial Venus—Syrians, Phœnicians, and Celts venerated and did not eat Fish—The Fish a purely Pagan, not a Christian emblem—Fish God and Goddess of the Phœnicians—Dagon and Derceto.—*Mirror, and Mirror in Case; Comb, and Comb in Case*—Found depicted in Ancient Etrurian Tombs—Mirrors known from the Earliest Ages—Are found in Ancient and comparatively Modern Sculptures in Scotland—What is here called the Comb-case is often called the representation of a Book—Mirrors used in Divination.—*The Horse*—Horse Sacrifice of the Arian race—Its great Antiquity—An Emblem of the Sun, the Vital Spirit—Horse Sacrifices of the Persians, Scythians, Greeks, Romans, Lusitanians, and Celts of Britain.—*The Bull*—Cattle sacrificed by the Ancient Britons at their Heathen Temples, and afterwards in the same places by the Christians—Sacrifices in Scotland so late as the Seventeenth Century—White Bulls sacrificed to the Moon by the Druids.—*The Boar*—One of the Animals sacred to Artemis, the Moon.—*Bird's Head on Human Figure*—An Oriental and Heathen Emblem.—*Hippocampus*—May represent a Sea-God, such as Martin says was Worshipped in one of the Western Isles.—*Capricorn*—Probably a Roman, not a Caledonian Emblem.—*Representation of a Flower or Plant*—Plants believed by the Druids to possess Occult Virtues—Gathered by them with Magical Ceremonies—Mistletoe, Vervain, Salago, Samolus.—*Human Figure with Dog's or Jackal's Head; Dog's Head*—May represent the Celtic Deity called Mercury by Cæsar—Anubis, Hermes, Mercury.—*The Centaur*—The Centaur, bearing the Bough of a Tree in Caledonian Sculptures, is also found in Ancient Etrurian Monuments—Celtic Element

in Ancient Population of Etruria.— *The Hawk*—Is found Sculptured over the Fire-Altar—Hawk was Worshipped in Egypt, and represented the Sun—Human Sacrifices to the Earth-Goddess of Goomsur, represented by a Bird.—*Pointless Sword in its Sheath*—Was the Earliest Form of Weapon used by the Gauls and the Caledonians.—*Limbs of Human Beings projecting from a Cauldron*—This appears on the Christianised side of a Stone, the other side having only Heathen Emblems.—*Sacrifice of a Bull*—Such Sacrifices used by the Heathen Inhabitants—Have been continued by the Christians almost up to the present day.—*The Triangle.*—*The Camel.*—*The Harp.*—*Sculptured Figures of a different Type*, and possibly of an Earlier Race, not yet sufficiently examined.

Horse-shoe Figure.

CAN this figure resembling a horse-shoe be the emblem of an emblem—viz. of the serpent as a protecting and beneficent power? Several reasons may be urged in support of this theory. First, a resemblance that this figure in some of its varieties bears to the very peculiar mark which distinguishes the Nágarajiya,[1] king of serpents, the hooded snake, from all other members of the serpent race. Second, the figure now under consideration, although unmistakably one of the same series, yet never appears in the same sculpture as the serpent and sceptre. A third reason is, that the common *horse-shoe*, which has the form, has also, it seems probable, been received as the representative of this figure, and has thus acquired in ancient times what it still very generally retains in all quarters of the British Islands—viz. the reputation of being a charm of power sufficient to ward off disease, repel misfortune, insure success, and paralyse evil spirits in their career of mischief.

[1] Which will be found referred to in the article on "The Serpent, as Nagendra; and Ananta, the personification of the firmament; the Atmosphere; and Atmospheric Phenomena."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CXII

Whatever this figure may have originally represented to our heathen ancestors, it seems very likely that from it the horse-shoe derived supposed powers of promoting the fortune of its possessor, and protecting him against threatened calamities, whether designed by men or by demons. Superstition clung to the symbol that was hallowed by antiquity, and even impressed this emblem of paganism on the Christianity by which it was superseded; and this to such an extent that a horse-shoe was inserted in the pavement, or its figure was sculptured at the entrance to churches in Britain[1] that were built a thousand years after the introduction of Christianity.

It was an ancient and very common practice to fix a horse-shoe on the door or threshold of a house, as it was believed that evil spirits, sorcerers, and witches, in passing this symbol, were deprived of their occult powers of mischief. This persuasion, although prevailing in many parts of Great Britain and Ireland, seems to be most generally retained in Wales, as an historical account of the principality, written in 1812,[2] says that "at every house you will perceive a horse-shoe, cross, or some such charm of defence against venomous spirits." This practice is not confined to any particular locality nor to dwelling-houses, but may be seen on stables, kennels, byres, barns, and all kinds of farm-buildings.

[1] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Ellis, vol. iii. p. 135.

"Most houses of the west end of London have the horse-shoe on the threshold" (A.D. 1696).—Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, pp. 141, 142.

[2] By the Rev. J. Evans, in *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xvii. p. 119, "North Wales."

[3] "We have seen horse-shoes nailed on cottage doors, vessels, omnibuses, vans, and in one instance on the gate of a borough gaol."—Art. "Cornwall" in *Quarterly Review*, vol. cii. p. 326.

The horse-shoe may often be found fixed on boats and ships, in situations more or less exposed to view, and in all parts of the United Kingdom. It is so placed in the belief that this sign not only affords protection to the vessel against tempests that might be raised by demons and sorcerers, but also assures general success to the objects of the voyager. There is also proverbial good luck to be expected for any person who is fortunate enough to find a horse-shoe.

Besides the numerous monuments delineated in the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, in which the figure of an arch, generally resembling in form the horse-shoe, is found, mention is made of other stones on which it was graven. M. Penhouet noticed it, amongst other figures, on a dolmen in Armorica.[1] The "standing stone marked like a horse-shoe" is described in a record of the fifteenth century[2] as marking a point in the boundary between lands belonging to the cathedral of Aberdeen and those of the Earl of Athol; and in 1703 Martin describes a cave in the isle of Arran which on "the south side had a horse-shoe engraven on it."[3]

It has been already stated that the witchcraft of Britain, more particularly of Scotland, appears to have been, with few exceptions, the remains of heathen practices and superstitions; and the emblem of the horse-shoe is not one of these exceptions. On the 4th June 1634 Elizabeth Bathcat, from Eyemouth in Berwickshire, was accused of witchcraft, and it is specified that she had a horse-shoe in a concealed part of the

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. p. 233.

[2] "The stannand stain merkit lik a hors-scho."—*Regis. Epis. Aberdon.*, between the year 1446 and 1449, vol. i. p. 246.

[3] Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 219.

door of her house, which she had placed there under instructions from the devil, in order that whatever she undertook should prosper, more particularly within her house ; and that protection by the horse-shoe apparently extended to all her goods.[1]

In an earlier series of symbols cut in rocks there appear figures that from strong resemblance may be the original of the horse-shoe emblem of the sculptures more particularly described in the present remarks. The figures of this earlier series are noticed, but not in detail, in a separate section.

To uncivilised nations who used picture-writing it may have been the rainbow, or the apparent form of the vault of heaven, to which their ken was limited, that suggested an arched outline as the emblem of the sky. In the Caledonian sculptures the simple arch seems the earliest type, while in those of apparently later execution the form and characteristics of a horse-shoe become more evident. The most probable conjecture regarding this figure of the Caledonian sculptures is, that it represented the firmament or its presiding deity, some Celtic Varuna or Indra.

The Fish.

In the following remarks will be found the reasons that have induced me to consider that the fish, as well as the crescent with the sceptre, may be an emblem of the celestial Venus. In the first place, it is necessary to call attention to the fact, that although belonging to the same series of heathen emblems, the fish

[1] Sir J. Grahame Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 200.

and the crescent and sceptre never appear in the same piece of sculpture where the objects have no connection with the cross.

The priests of Egypt were not permitted to eat fish,[1] but the only ancient nations of whom it is known that they did not eat and did venerate the fish were the Syrians, Phœnicians, and Celts.[2] Herodotus says that the temple of the celestial Venus at Ascalon was by far the most ancient erected to that goddess,[3] and was the model of that erected by the Phœnicians at Cythera. He also connects her worship with that of the Assyrian Venus Mylitta, whose abominable rites, as practised in Babylon, eventually superseded, in the island of Cyprus[4] and various other places,[5] an early and comparatively pure form of adoration of the celestial Venus. Diodorus Siculus informs us[6] that the temple at Ascalon was dedicated to the goddess Derceto, represented by a fish with a woman's face, and stood near the margin of a deep lake that abounded in fish. He adds that at this very day the Syrians eat no fish, but adore them as gods.[7]

Various ancient authors mention that fish were consecrated to Venus, also to Astarte, and were forbidden to their

[1] Herodotus, *Euterpe*, xxxvii.

[2] Xiphiline, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* lx.

[3] Herodotus, *Clio*, cv.

[4] *Ibid.* cxxxi. cxcix.

[5] As at Sicca Veneria (now called Keff), in Africa; Eryx, in Sicily, etc.

It has been suggested that the Succoth-Benoth of 2 Kings xvii. 30 was the deity worshipped at Sicca Veneria. —Davis's *Carthage*, p. 605.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, b. ii. c. i.

[7] In Ovid, *The Fasti*, b. ii., it is also mentioned that the Syrians deem it impious to eat fish.

In the *Metamorphoses*, b. iv., Ovid refers to the Babylonian Dercetis, believed by the inhabitants of Palestine to inhabit its lakes.

worshippers.[1] Hierapolis, in Northern Syria, was a celebrated place for the worship of this goddess[2]—viz. Venus, as identical with Astarte, Atargatis, or Derceto; and there the inhabitants abstained from eating fish,[3] which were forbidden to her worshippers.[4]

Syria-Dea, and Aphrodite of the Greeks, Venus of the Romans, appears originally to have been identical with Astarte, called Ashtoreth by the Hebrews.[5] The legends of Aphrodite given by the earliest Greek poets connect her with Cythera and Cyprus, and in so far confirm the probability, almost amounting to proof, of her Asiatic-Syriac origin. It is also a tradition, preserved in the metamorphosis of the gods, that Aphrodite changed herself into a fish.[6]

On a coin of Abdera, an ancient Phœnician settlement in Spain,[7] one side represents a temple, and on the reverse is a Phœnician inscription between two fish. Another coin has on one side a temple of four columns, two of which are in the form of fishes, and on the front of the temple, in the Phœnician characters and language, "the sun."[8]

On coins of the ancient Tyrian colony of Gadir-Gades, now

[1] See authorities in Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 306.

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. v. c. 19; b. xxx. c. 9.

[3] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 308.

[4] I presume the fish in the fountain of Apollo at Myra in Lycia, as they gave oracular presages, were sacred to that god.—Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. xxxii. c. 9.

[5] Smith's *Mythological and Biographical Dictionary*, articles "Aphrodite" and "Syria-Dea."

[6] The planet Venus was sacred to Aphrodite (Smith's *Mythological Dictionary*); on a gem (in Crabb's *Historical Dictionary*, "Venus") a fish appears along with a head of Venus-Anadyomene.

[7] Strabo, b. iii. c. iv.

[8] Akerman's *Ancient Coins*, "Hispania," Plate II. figs. 1, 2, 3.

Cadiz,[1] the fish appears on the reverse of several, which have on the obverse the head of Hercules.[2] On one of these coins the crescent appears between two fish. On a coin of Ilipa, another ancient city of Spain, may be seen a fish beneath the crescent.[2]

Dion Cassius says the Caledonians never taste fish, although their lakes and rivers furnish an inexhaustible supply. Two "holie fishes" in the seventeenth century occupied a well near the church of Kilmore in Argyleshire. They were black—never changed colour—neither increased in number nor in size in the memory of themost aged persons. The people believed that no others existed anywhere.[3] Martin, in his *Account of the Western Isles*, describes the ceremonies practised by invalids who came to be cured by the waters of a well at Loch Siant, in the isle of Skye.[4] They drank the water, and then moved round the well deasil (sunwise), and before departing left an offering on a stone. Martin adds that no one would venture to kill any of the fish in Loch Siant, or to cut as much as a twig from an adjacent copse. These customs, practised in the end of the seventeenth century, have apparently

[1] Although not the earliest of the Phœnician settlements in Spain, Gadir was occupied by Tyrian settlers 1100 years B.C.—Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 125-128.

[2] Akerman's *Ancient Coins*, "Hispania," Plate IV. Nos. 2 and 3.

[3] MS. quoted in Sir J. Graham Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 411, 412.

In the island of Ortygia, at Syracuse, was the fountain Arethusa, consecrated to Artemis or Diana, in which, says Diodorus Siculus, were many large fishes. These were not only held sacred in ancient times, but continued to be so in his day, as it was believed some dire misfortune would overtake any one who should venture to interfere with creatures which were under the protection of the goddess.—Diodorus Siculus, b. v. c. i.

In a stream that flows by Sus, the ancient Susa, it is said the fish are still considered sacred.—*Jour. Geog. Soc.* vol. ix. p. 83.

[4] Martin's *Western Islands*, p. 140.

reference to the worship of the sun, the fountain, the fish, and the oak. Martin also mentions a sea-god called Shony, to whom the Celtic inhabitants of the Western Isles poured out libations ; but the form of this god is not mentioned.

The absence of any allusion to the art of catching fish has been used as an argument in support of the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, as well as being corroborative of the statement of Dion Cassius. *Fish-eaters* was one of the contemptuous epithets which the Scottish Celt applied to the Saxon and other races that settled in the Lowlands of Scotland, and the remains of the superstitious veneration of fish, or rather abstaining from fish as an article of food, is regarded by the author of *Caledonia* as influencing the more purely Celtic portions of the British population in the early part of the present century.[1]

It has been stated that the fish is a sacred emblem of the Saviour, and a reason assigned for the adoption of such a symbol is, that the letters which compose Ichthus, a fish in Greek, are in the same language the initial letters of the words for "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour."[2] Considerable ingenuity is displayed in this acrostic exposition, and many writers have adopted or accepted this explanation. Nevertheless, as long before the Christian era the fish was an

[1] Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 460. In Campbell's *Popular Tales of the Highlands* there is reference to a mythical fish—and "the fish which gives knowledge when eaten," etc., vol. iii. pp. 41, 336.

[2] The fish in its own or some human forms is found in the Christian catacombs, but in Stanley's *Eastern Church* (p. 194) we find that Orpheus and Pan are there found representing our Saviour, and that some epitaphs begin with the usual pagan address to the gods of the grave.

object of worship and an emblem connected with religion, it probably is one of the many heathenish figures which, along with superstitious practices of the pagans, were accepted in a spirit of policy by early Christians, and of which we see so many instances in the sculptured stones of Scotland.[1]

Ancient nations that did not eat but worshipped the fish were the Syrians, Phœnicians, and Celts. But in Caufiristaun, in the remote parts of the Hindu-Cosh, the Caufirs will not eat fish, although it is not said that they worship it. They believe in one great god, but have numerous idols that represent those who were once men and women. A plain stone, about four feet high, represents God, whose shape they say they do not know. One of their tribes call God Dagon. The Caufirs use fire in all religious ceremonies, and have a hereditary priesthood. They are of fair complexion, and have been supposed to be descendants of some of Alexander's soldiers, although their language does not give any support to such ancestry.[2] The fish god and goddess of the Phœnicians were called Dagon and Derceto ; the worship of Dagon being more particularly celebrated at Gaza and Ashdod ; that of Derceto at Ascalon.[3]

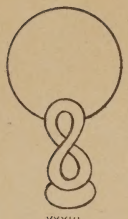
The Mirror and Comb.

The mirror and mirror-case are not always easily distinguished from each other in the Caledonian hieroglyphics ; and

[1] Amongst other emblems is a figure marked LXXXII., having a human head, body, and hands, whilst the legs decline into two fishes tails curiously entwined.

[2] Mountstuart Elphinstone, *Cabul*, vol. iii. p. 375, etc.

[3] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 323.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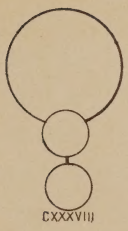
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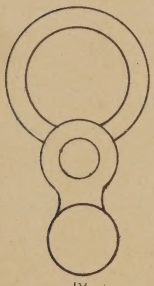
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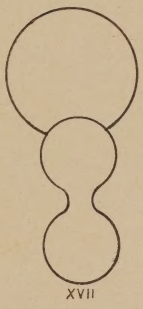
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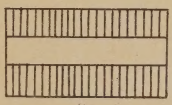
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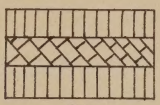
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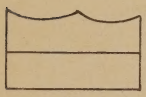
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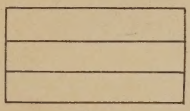
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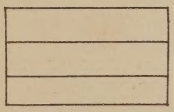
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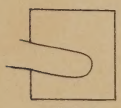
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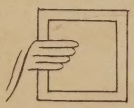
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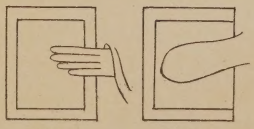
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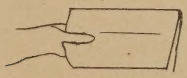
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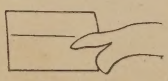

XXVIII

the same thing has been remarked in regard to these symbols in the ancient sculptures of Etruria.[1] A figure which has been called and certainly resembles a fibula may also be a mirror-case. In like manner an oblong figure, sometimes supposed to represent a book or a buckle, I imagine to be a comb-case. This opinion is supported by the fact, that in the sculptures yet brought to light the figures I have described as mirror-cases and comb-cases never appear in the same sculpture with the article itself. Thus the mirror and mirror-case never appear together; neither is the comb and comb-case to be found on the same monument. From this I presume that the cases served, equally with their contents, to represent objects included in the creed of Caledonian paganism.

The mirror, although it may be distinguished on early Christian monuments, was undoubtedly a heathen emblem, and also an article of common use many ages before the commencement of our era. Mirrors are mentioned in the books of Exodus[2] and Job.[3] They are delineated in very ancient monuments of Egypt,[4] and in times comparatively modern appear on the tomb of a prioress at Iona[5] along with two angels. But two lap-dogs, with bells attached to their necks, are evidences that the design on this monument is not altogether a religious allegory exemplified in stone.

[1] Dennis' *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i. p. lxxiv.

[2] Exod. xxxviii. 8.

[3] Job xxxvii. 18.

[4] Pliny, in his *Nat. Hist.* b. xxxvi., says mirrors were invented at Sidon. Mirrors, says Dennis in his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, have been found with decided marks of Babylonian or Phœnician origin (vol. i. p. lxxiv.)

[5] Wilson's *Prehistoric and Archæological Annals of Scotland*, p. 500.

One of the modes of divination classed as sorcery against which Pope John XXII. issued decrees in the early part of the fourteenth century was that practised with mirrors.[1] Yet this heathen custom is not now extinct. On Hallowe'en the mirror and comb may still be found employed as instruments of divination, by which the unmarried endeavour to discover the likeness of those who are to be their future partners for life. Dr. Jamieson remarks on the ceremonies of Hallowe'en that "they can be viewed in no other light than as acts of devil-worship."[2]

The mermaid is often represented holding a looking-glass in one hand and a comb in the other. The Celtic race in Scotland believed, and still believe, in the existence of mermaids. In the present century persons of education, as well as others, have vouched for the appearance to them of these fish of semi-human forms.[3]

What is here called a comb-case has been often called a book. It may have been first the comb and Christianised as book.

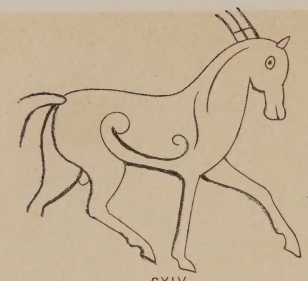
The Horse.

Traditions of the Arian race preserved among one of the earliest of human records—viz. the *Rigveda*—refer to the Aswamedha (horse-sacrifice), when the victim, decorated with rich trappings, after being three times led round the sacrificial fire, was bound to a stake and immolated with an axe or

[1] *Trial of Dame Alice Kyteler*, published by the Camden Society, 1843, p. 41.

[2] Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.

[3] In 1797, 1809, 1811, on the coasts of the Highlands of Scotland, and in 1819 on the coast of Ireland, mermaids are minutely described, having, it is said, been long visible, and near to those who gave the description.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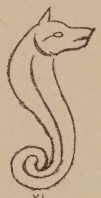
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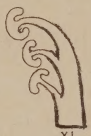
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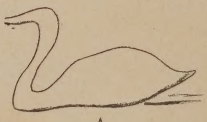
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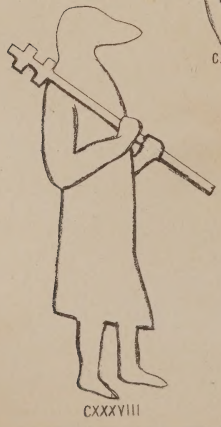
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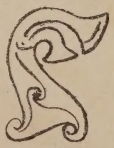
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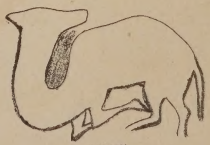
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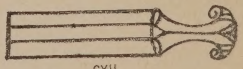
CXII

a sword. The flesh was then roasted or boiled at the same fire, and being made up into balls was eaten by the persons performing these sacred rites.[1] The sacrifice was offered for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the givers of the sacrifice, and appears to have been connected with the worship of the sun.[2]

By the Hindus, at a later but still remote period, the Aswamedha horse-sacrifice was considered to be of extreme efficacy, as appears in the *Ramayana*.[3] At a still later period it would appear that the Hindus only dedicated the horse to the god of the sun, of whom it was an emblem, but did so according to the rites used in the ancient form of sacrifice. The Persian magi sacrificed horses to the sun and to rivers.[4] The Scythians sacrificed horses to the sun,[5] their chief deity.

The Greeks of Argolis offered horses to Poseidon (Neptune) by throwing them bridled into a well. White horses were especially sacrificed to Helios, the god of the sun.[6] The Romans sacrificed a horse to Mars.[7]

[1] Wilson's *Translation of Rigveda*. The horse was the emblem of the sun to the Hindus, and the sun is sometimes by them called "the vital spirit" (Max Müller's *Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, pp. 20, 553-556, 2d edition, 1860). "May this horse—viz. the sacrifice—give us cattle and horses, men, progeny, and all-sustaining wealth."

[2] Certainly as the real bestower of light and warmth; possibly at an earlier period as symbolical of spiritual right.

[3] *Ramayana*, translated by Carey and Marshman, b. i. sec. xii. p. 172. The horse is there described as killed with a scymitar.

[4] Ovid's *Fasti*, b. i.; Herodotus, *Polymnia*, cxiii. Pliny's remark may be here recalled—viz. that the Druids and magicians of the Gauls, and more particularly of the Britons, from their intense application to magic rites, might almost seem to have been the instructors of the Persians in the magic art.

[5] Herodotus, *Clio*, ccxvi.; Strabo, b. xi. c. viii.

[6] Smith's *Mythological Dictionary*, articles "Poseidon" and "Helios."

[7] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* b. xxviii. c. 40.

From Bede we learn that the Britons sacrificed cattle in their temples, and ate of their sacrifices. The figure of the horse that we are now considering, and the fact that the Britons ate horse-flesh,[1] make a case of strong presumptive evidence that horses were among the cattle sacrificed in the heathen temples of Britain. That the sacrifice was in honour of the sun (Helios, Heul of the Celts) is most probable from the practice of other nations that worshipped the sun and offered animal sacrifices.[2]

The most ancient coins of Gaul and Britain favour this inference, many of them exhibiting the figure of a horse accompanied by planetary emblems, as the circle, the crescent, or stars.[3] On some of these coins the horse appears under or in a temple,[4] in others it is seen on the reverse of coins bearing the head of Apollo.[5]

The Lusitanians were Celts,[6] and sacrificed horses and captives taken in war with the same barbarous rites and forms of augury as were practised by the Druids.[7]

I have not referred to the remains of horses commonly

[1] *The Penitential* of Ecgbert says "horse-flesh is not prohibited;" but in the council held in presence of Alfwold, in A.D. 783, and in other provincial councils, Christians were directed to avoid horse-flesh, which was not eaten by Christians in the East.—Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons.*

[2] Pennant says (*Tour in Wales*, vol. iii. pp. 157, 158) that it was a practice to offer a horse at the Holy Well in the parish of Cegidoc, to secure a blessing on the others.

[3] As in many of Akerman's *Coins of Gallia and Britannia.*

[4] *Ibid.* Plate XIII. 7, 11.

[5] *Ibid.* Plate XVII. 8, etc. Plate XIII. 7 is a horse within a temple on a coin of Belindi, a name supposed to be derived from the Gaulish Apollo, Belinus.—*Ibid.* pp. 126, 127.

[6] Niebuhr's *Ethnology*, and Latham's *Celtic Nations.*

[7] The sacrifices by the Lusitanians are described by Strabo, b. iii. c. iii.

found in Britain in the neighbourhood of monolithic fanes and in tumuli of various kinds, as the animals may have been immolated and interred for the same reason as the ornaments and weapons of a deceased person were deposited—viz. for his use in the next form of reanimation which he was to assume. Irrespective of any support from the discovery of the remains of these animals, horse-sacrifice can be traced from the Hindus, in the centre of Asia, and in many intermediate countries, until we reach the Celtic nations of Western Europe ; the sun being usually the object to which such sacrifices were dedicated.

The Bull.

Three bulls with marks, probably of dedication for sacrifice, two of them found at Burghead, are known in Scotland, exclusive of those found in combination with other emblems in the sculptured stones of Scotland.

The instructions sent in A.D. 601 by Pope Gregory to Augustine and Miletus are sufficient proof that the pagan inhabitants of Britain sacrificed cattle to their gods. The Pontiff remarks that, as it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds, they may be allowed on solemn Christian festivals, in the neighbourhood of churches which have been turned to that use from temples, to kill cattle to the praise of God in their eating, and return thanks to the giver of all things for their sustenance.[1]

In Plate XC. of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* the figure of a bull appears with a bell below its neck. It is a

[1] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History ; Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 41.

common practice in the East to fasten bells round the necks of their cattle. In forest-covered countries the bell is not only a protection against wild animals, but enables the master more readily to find the bullocks that have wandered from the place at which they were set to graze.

The Persian god Mithras,[1] the sun, when introduced among the Roman deities, was represented as a youth cutting the throat of a bull. In Plate LXX. of *The Sculptured Stones* there is a human figure with a knife applied to the throat of a bull, on which are marks probably intended to indicate dedication for sacrifice. This figure appears on a stone in which the cross is an original and the most prominent object of the sculpture, which would thus seem to have been executed at a period when Christianity was partially received or pitifully compromised.

There are comparatively recent cases, even in the present century—not only in Scotland, but in England and Wales—of the sacrificing one of a herd of cattle as an offering to preserve and redeem the remainder from some raging pestilence. The practice of such sacrifices—viz. the offering of a bull for the recovery from sickness of a human being—is now proved by authentic ecclesiastical records to have continued in Caledonia at all events as late as towards the end of the seventeenth century, at Eilan Mourie or Maree, in Loch Maree, in Ross-shire. Unfortunately at this place the name of the Christian saint has superseded and extinguished that of the

[1] Strabo, b. xv. c. iii.; Herodotus, *Clio*, cxxxi.; see also "Mithras" in Smith's *Mythological Dictionary*.

heathen god, whose rites were thus continued for at least a thousand years after the introduction of Christianity.[1]

On ancient coins of Gaul and Britain the bull is an emblem that commonly appears, and occasionally in combination with planetary symbols; but as such coins are seldom of a date previous to the Roman invasion of these countries, the figures cannot be considered as conclusive, but only as corroborative evidence on points regarding the primitive emblems of Celtic paganism. It was probably to the moon that the white bulls that had never known the yoke were sacrificed when the Druids cut the misletoe, as mentioned by Pliny. The Cimbri, now generally admitted to be a Celtic horde, were defeated by Catullus B.C. 101. They had formerly sworn on the image of a bull to observe a capitulation made with the Romans.

The Boar.

The boar with sacrificial marks appears on a stone where a portion of the double-disc emblem can still be distinguished.[2] Boars are also found along with heathen symbols sculptured around a figure of the cross in the parish of Trinity Gask.[3] The boar was one of the animals sacred to Artemis, Diana, the moon. In judging of the probable sculptors of the boar it is necessary to bear in mind that this animal was the badge of the twentieth Roman legion.

[1] See a very interesting paper, embodying the presbytery record of these superstitions, by Dr. Mitchell, in *Proceedings of Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, vol. iv. pp. 256-258.

[2] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate XXXVIII.

[3] *Ibid.* Plate CIII. CIV.

Bird's Head on a Human Figure.

There is little room for doubt regarding the figure of a human figure with a bird's head being of Eastern origin,[1] and that it was derived from Assyrian mythology. By some writers it is said to represent St. John. There is no doubt that it has been so christened. In the autograph gospels of St. Columba a bird's body, as well as a bird's head, represents that evangelist. But it may be asked, Whom in Christian biography does a dog's head on a man's figure represent?

Water-Kelpie.

From the earliest of British authors[2] we learn that the genii of fountains and rivers were objects of adoration to our heathen ancestors. The existence of a malignant spirit inhabiting the sea, as well as inland lakes, rivers, and even small streams, is still credited in some parts of Scotland. The form most generally attributed to this demon is that of a horse in whole or in part, and the name by which it is usually known is the water-kelpie, whose nickering laugh, heard during the violent gusts of a storm, is considered a sure presage of misfortunes and death to result from the tempest and floods. In some places sounds heard during a raging storm are called the roar of the bull of the waters; and when bridges

[1] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates XLIII. CXVIII.

[2] Gildas.

In the Celtic mythology the chief spirit of the waters has the name of Neithe.—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 463.

were few and far between, continual accidents served to confirm a belief in the auguries attributed to the unearthly sounds of the water-kelpie, whether the sound was assimilated to the neighing of a horse or the roar of the bull.[1]

The Hippocampus.

The form of this emblem, the hippocampus, is evidently derived from a small animal[2] which is found in abundance in the Mediterranean and in the sea-weed of the Gulf Stream. It is also occasionally cast on the coasts of Britain, and more frequently on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. An ancient Greek statue of Neptune is described as holding in one hand a Hippocampus;[3] but as Neptune was one of the ancient gods of Phœnicia under the name of Poseidon,[4] the Phœnicians, from their continued communication with Britain, are more likely than the Greeks to have been the importers into Caledonia of this maritime representative.

[1] In Celtic mythology there was a being of somewhat similar attributes, but not having any defined form, and altogether more spiritual—viz. Marcach—Shine, or rider of the storm (*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 464, "Kirkmichael Parish"). Among places where the horse of the waters was believed to have been seen are Loch Lomond, where it is joined by the river Endric; the Auldt Grandt, a river springing from Loch Glaish. Loch Awe and Loch Rannoch are also places where the bull of the waters is affirmed to reside, and where he is alleged to have been seen.—Sir J. Graham Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 543, 544.

[2] The Syngathus, Hippocampus, the name being derived from the extraordinary resemblance of its head to that of a horse, and its tail to a caterpillar.

[3] Strabo, b. viii. c. viii., quoting Eratosthenes.

[4] The city of Berytus was the chief seat of the worship of Poseidon.—"Sanchoniatho" in Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 325, 335.

Capricorn.

The head, fore-feet, and upper part of the body represented a goat;[1] the lower part and termination being those of a seal. The stone on which this figure was graven being no longer in existence, the plate in the book published by the Spalding Club was copied from a work not famed for minute accuracy.[2] This, however, is of less consequence, as there can be little doubt that both the figures and the execution are Roman, and cannot be connected with a Celtic mythology. The stone on which the capricorn forms part of the design was in a parish—viz. Inverkeithing—bounded by the Firth of Forth, and various other sculptures containing this figure have been discovered in the line of the Roman wall that connected the estuaries of the Clyde and Forth.[3] These sculptures, and a tablet in the British Museum, are proved to have referred to the Roman "Legio secunda Augusta," which had adopted as its symbols the capricorn and pegasus.[4] The capricorn seems, however, to be intended by a figure in Plate LXVIII.

The Flower.

The representation of a flower appears in sculptures exclusively heathen,[5] as well as in those where the cross is the pro-

[1] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate CXXXI. 3.

[2] Remarks by Mr. Stuart (editor) in the commencement of the work on the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland.*

[3] Stewart's *Caledonia Romana*, Plates VIII. 1, 6, and IX. 1.

[4] See article and plates in the *Archæological Journal*, 1857, No. 56.

[5] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates XXXII. 2, XCII. 1.

minent figure, but surrounded by pagan devices.[1] Among the Celts various plants were esteemed, not only for their medicinal virtues, but also because they were believed to possess occult powers, and when worn about the person would prevent misfortunes and insure success. The misletoe and vervain,[2] two of these plants, are well known ; but botanists are not agreed what herbs are represented by other two mentioned by Pliny as the selago and samolus, which were gathered by the Druids with various magical ceremonies.

Human Figure with Dog's Head.

The human figure with dog's or jackal's head [3] is probably emblematical of the same object, and may possibly represent the Celtic deity which Cæsar called Mercury. Mercury we know was confounded with Anubis, and Anubis was represented with a dog's head and a human figure from the head downwards, or sometimes merely as dog in the natural form.[4]

The Greeks identified the Egyptian Anubis with Hermes, and the Romans identified Hermes with Mercury. The combined attributes of these deities may have induced Cæsar to describe a prominent object of Celtic worship as Mercury—protector of sacrifices—god of highways—guardian of travel-

[1] *Ibid.* Plates XL. 1, CIII.

[2] Vervain, called by the Welsh Casgan-Gythoel, or "demon's aversion" (Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. iii. p. 161) ; and misletoe, the "all-heal" of the Druids.—Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* xvi. c. 95. See also article "Druids."

[3] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate CXXXVIII.

[4] Some of the ancient writers considered this as an astronomical emblem. The horizon was called Anubis, and represented by a dog.

lers—active, watchful, skilful, and unscrupulous—the giver of riches—and the patron of those who engaged in active enterprise and distant commerce.

Herodotus mentions the Cynocephali, men with dog's heads, so does Pliny, as being found in Africa. Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, refers to the Romans having adopted "Isis and the half-dog deities" from the Egyptians. The initiated devotees of Isis at processions in Rome wore masks representing heads of dogs. The "half-dog deity" is probably "the barking Anubis" mentioned in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.[1] Hecate was represented with a dog's head, but at the same time with two other heads—viz. a horse's and a lion's, or a pig's in place of the lion's head.

The Centaur.

The centaur on two monuments is represented bearing the bough of a tree.[2] In another sculpture which is less distinct the centaur carries a club resting on the shoulder. On a third monument the centaur is without the branch of a tree, but bears a hammer in each hand.[3]

The centaur bearing the bough of a tree is depicted in the monuments of Etruria[4] as well as among the emblems on Caledonian sculptures, and this fact becomes more especially worthy of notice when we consider the satisfactory nature of

[1] B. ix. fable vi.

[2] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plates LXXIV. LXXX.

[3] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate LXXXIV.

[4] Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. ii. p. 18. This figure is also to be seen on Etruscan vases.

the evidence from which it has been concluded that there was a Celtic, a Gallic, element in the population of Etruria, not only previous to the historical but even to the legendary period of Italian ethnology.[1] It is also to be observed that monuments similar to that of Kit's-Coty-House in Kent are found in Etruria.[2]

Barth remarked a stone in the ruins at Kasr-Kerker, about 60 miles inland from Tripoli, on which were sculptured the figures of a centaur and a serpent.[3] The centaur appears on ancient British or Gallic coins of a date believed to be anterior to the invasion of Britain by the Romans.

The Hawk.

The hawk, or some bird of prey, appears in several sculptures, and in Plates XIII. and XVII. of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* is placed not only over but on the figure which I have called a fire-altar, and with which it seems to be in combination. The Egyptians are the only people of whom we have positive knowledge that they held sacred the hawk, and of them it is averred that they punished with death any person who even by accident killed one of these birds.[4] As the hawk was regarded as a representative of the sun, it is not improbable that the Phœnicians may also have made use of this symbol of their great object of worship. One reason for thinking that in the Caledonian hieroglyphics

[1] Latham's *Celtic Nations*, pp. 126, 128, 132.

[2] Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. ii. p. 320.

[3] Barth's *Travels in Africa*, vol. i. p. 79.

[4] Herodotus, *Euterpe*, lxv.

the hawk has reference to the sun is, that neither the figure here termed a fire-altar nor the hawk, either combined or separate, appear in the same piece of sculpture with the double disc.

In the districts of Goomsur and Boad, in the Madras presidency, human sacrifices were offered to the earth-goddess, her emblem being a bird.[1] The Celts believed that there was an earth deity.

The Sword.

The Scythians worshipped a sword as representing the god of war. To this emblem they not only sacrificed horses, but also occasionally human captives.[2] A pointless sword, we learn from Polybius and Tacitus, was the form of that weapon with which the Gauls were armed in their wars against the Romans in Italy in the third century B.C. A pointless sword was also that used by the Caledonians when they encountered the forces of Agricola on the verge of the Grampian mountains. In that case the swords of the Celts are described, from being without points,[3] as badly calculated for a close encounter with the Romans, whose swords, equally adapted for cutting or thrusting, were far more efficient weapons.

In Plate CXII. the mirror and comb is in the same sculpture as the figure which appears, or is assumed, to be a sword in its scabbard, without a point and without a guard. It is also remarkable that the oldest form of the leaf-shaped sword is without a guard. In Plate XLIII. there is a pointless sword.

[1] General Campbell's *Personal Narrative.*

[2] Herodotus, *Melpomene*, lxii.

[3] From Polybius at the battle near Pisa, B.C. 225, and at Cannæ, B.C. 216; from Tacitus' *Life of Agricola*, at the battle of the Grampians, A.D. 84.

In the same sculpture are also the mirror and comb. In this case the sculpture is evidently of a later period, as the cross is the prominent object in the design. In Plate VIII. the Monymusk stone, although evidently a sculpture of a late period, has also the old type of this weapon so long disused —viz. the original pointless sword of the ancient Celts.

Limbs of Human Figures.

The figure of limbs of human figures projecting from a cauldron[1] appears on one of the sculptured stones which now stands near the manse, but was formerly in the churchyard at Glammis.[2] One side of this monument exhibits only simple heathen emblems—viz. the serpent, the fish, and the mirror. The other side has been so far Christianised as to bear an ornamented figure of the cross surrounded by heathen devices. Amongst these appear two human figures as if plunged with their heads downwards into a cauldron, from which the lower part of their bodies and their legs are seen projecting.

If this design be of heathen derivation, which is not probable, there is the authority of Strabo in support of the Cimbri putting their captives to death in this manner.[3] There is also a Christian legend which may have furnished the idea worked out by the sculptor—viz. that of St. Nicholas, who is said to have restored to life two youths who had been killed, cut up, salted, and were to be sold as pork. This re-integration and

[1] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Plate LXXXIV.

[2] See notices by Mr. Stuart prefixed to the Plates of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland.*

[3] Strabo, b. vii. c. 11.

re-animation of the bodies of the two scholars from the landlord of Myra's larder is given as the explanation of the naked children and tub, the emblem of St. Nicholas.[1] The children of St. Nicholas, however, are represented rising from, and not descending head foremost into the vessel.

Sacrifice of a Bull.

The figure of a man sacrificing a bull in Plate LXX. of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* has none of the characteristics that distinguish the sacrifice of the bull as usually represented in Mithraic sculptures. In these the bull is represented as sacrificed by a young man in a Phrygian cap, whilst the animal is attacked by a serpent, a dog, and a scorpion. That Mithraic sun-worship, however, prevailed in Caledonia is, I think, sufficiently proved.[2] I would therefore suggest that the sculpture in Plate LXX., being in connection with the Christian cross, represents the sacrifice of a bull according to the indulgence of heathen practices partially sanctioned in the instructions of Pope Gregory to the Abbot Melletus in 601,[3] as the Pope in that letter permits the sacrifice of cattle by the people temporarily established in huts around such of their ancient pagan temples as had been sprinkled with holy water, and were consecrated to the worship of the true God. Cattle with sacrificial marks appear in some other sculptures,

[1] See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Ellis, vol. i. pp. 228-230.

[2] See chapters on "Baal, Beltane," "Double-Disc and Sceptre, Serpent, Elephant," etc. etc.

[3] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History; Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 141.

as on the Eassie Stone, Plate XC., where there is also a procession of ecclesiastics similar to that in Plate LXX.

The sacrifice of a bull or an ox as a health-offering, both in the northern and southern divisions of Scotland, has endured from the earliest periods of our history, and can be traced up to the present day.[1]

The Triangle.

The simple triangle, with a mark in the centre, appears in one of the plates[2] of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland.* On the stone this figure is very faintly marked. On another stone, which, however, is of the Christian or more probably of the transition period, after a partial introduction of Christianity, there is a figure that may be intended as an embellished or Christianised triangle. This is in an interlaced form, and the same figure may be seen graven on two polished bones that were found in the remains of crannoges in Ireland, and are now preserved in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy.[3]

The Camel.

The camel is represented in the sculptures of Scotland. It is most distinct in a sculpture where the cross is an original and the most prominent part of the design.[4]

[1] See notices of these sacrifices in the chapter on the "Religion of the Early Britons."

[2] Plate LXI. This stone is now at Banchory House, near Aberdeen.

[3] They are figured in Wilde's *Catalogue,* pp. 345-347.

[4] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland,* Plate LXXIII.

The Harp.

The harp appears to have been in use in Britain from the earliest periods of history or tradition; but in the Caledonian sculptures it only appears in those of the Christian period.

Sculptures of a different Type.

Although these sculptures have only lately attracted attention as figures of a peculiar and distinct character, a few of them had been already noticed and depicted.[1] Many others, however, have been lately examined, and are described and delineated by Mr. Tate in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club for* 1864.[2] Now that attention has been called to the subject, the number of figures will doubtless be increased; but among those already depicted may be noticed several concentric circles, with a single or a double line proceeding from the centre, and extending beyond the outer circumference—convolute or spiral lines emanating from a centre, and sometimes connected with other similar coils[3]—cups cut in monuments or rocks, and in some cases each cup surrounded by an incised line. In other instances these cups have been found in great numbers on the same monu-

[1] As the Coilsfield stone in Ayrshire, in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 332; the stone at High Auchinlary, county Kirkcudbright, figured in the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson discovered them on the monument in Cumberland called Long Meg, and published the discovery in an article in the *Archæologia*.

[2] Also published separately as *Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland*.

[3] Spiral figures of this kind have been found on monuments of prehistoric ages in the island of Malta, and are depicted in Mr. Tate's *Treatise*.

CXXIII.

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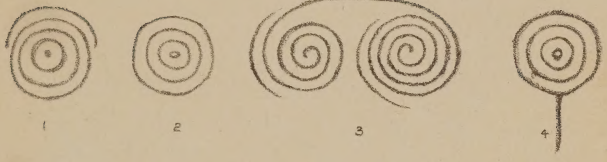

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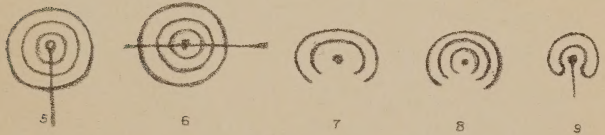

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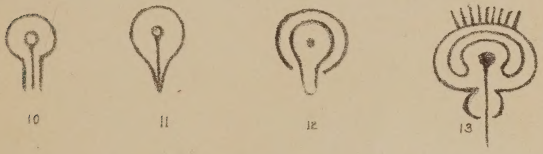

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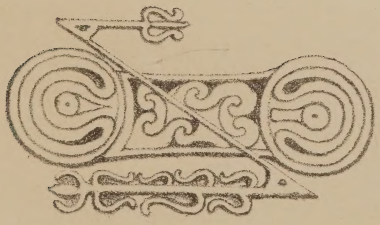

IX

ment, and in various cases are connected by lines so as to form a figure resembling what is called the *tree-rune*.

This type of sculptures, it is already ascertained, extends over all Britain, from the southern counties of England to the Orkneys, and from the east coasts to Wales and Argyleshire. They have also been found in Ireland.[1]

So far as an opinion may be hazarded on a subject which as yet is only very partially developed, these sculptures are of an entirely different type from the figures which in this work are termed Caledonian. On examination the figures on the Northumberland rocks forcibly convey the impression that they are memorials of a different people—Celtic or pre-Celtic—from those by whom the Caledonian sculptures were executed. Those of the Northumbrian type may be of an earlier period—emblems partially retained by later invaders, because venerated by the race on whom they intruded; in the same manner as Christians retained emblems and rites of their heathen ancestors. As an instance, there can commonly be traced in these rock-cut designs a figure that may be the original from which has been developed the horse-shoe emblem, so often seen on the sculptured stones on the northern side of the Forth.

In another chapter[2] will be found quotations from Fremenville, describing monuments in the Morbihan district of Brittany which appear to be of the same description as some of

[1] Professor Simpson of Edinburgh has collected many drawings and notices of sculptures of this type from all parts of the kingdom.

[2] In the chapter on "Menhirs," and in notes to the obscene and superstitious practices at the menhir of Kerloaz.

the primitive figures found in such numbers on the rocks in the northern counties of England. These monuments in the Morbihan seem similar in design, although not in execution, to those of Britain. In the latter country they are more rude and inartificial, but have so strong an affinity as to render it probable that they are symbols of a kindred superstition.

One of the stones found at Dinnacair, figured in Plate XLI. of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, has a great resemblance to figures on some of the *earth-fast* rocks of Northumberland. Over all Britain the belief seems to have been general that earth-fast stones possessed inherent powers, and were particularly necessary in various forms of divination. Whatever may have induced the execution of these sculptures on the rocks, they were most likely emblems connected with the superstitions of the people.[1]

On a sculptured stone at Dyce in Aberdeenshire is seen a peculiar form of the double-disc and sceptre, in which, as well as in another figure on the same stone, may be traced devices which, if not identical, closely resemble sculptures cut on rocks in Northumberland.[2]

[1] In figures of this type here delineated, Nos. 1, 2, 3, are from sculptured stones in Orkney, engraved in vol. ii. Plate III. and vol. iv. p. 186, of the *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland;* CXXIII. is from *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland;* Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, are from Mr. Tate's valuable treatise and plates above mentioned.

[2] This is marked IX. in the plate at the commencement of this article.

CHAPTER XIX.

SIMILAR PRIMITIVE MONUMENTS FOUND IN THE INDIAN PENINSULA, IN WESTERN EUROPE, AND IN INTERMEDIATE COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA.

Common Element in Languages of Countries extending from the Himalayas to the Hebrides, and a remarkable similarity in Primitive Monuments over the same Extent—Primitive Monuments of India existed prior to the Rock-cut Temples—Circular Stone Fanes still commonly erected in India—Sacrifice of Goats and Cocks—The Number of Stones in the Circle had reference to the Numbers of those who were to partake of the Sacrifice—Stones similarly placed at Superstitious Ceremonies in Scotland—Bali and Baal—List of Monuments common to India and the Celtic Countries of Western Europe—Similar Monuments in Persia and Media; in Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Circassia, Troy, Malta, Goza, Tunis, Algeria and the North Coast of Africa, Italy, Spain, Lusitania, Gaul, Armorica, the Channel Islands, Great Britain, and Ireland.

IT is only in very recent times that philologists have fully compared and finally traced striking relations and common elements in the language of nations extending from the remote Hebrides to the Himalaya mountains, and have proved the intimate connection of the Celtic with the Sanscrit.[1] Evidence confirmatory of the latter fact could, if it were necessary, be developed to a much greater extent; if not

[1] I particularly refer to the facts made known by Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, translated and edited by Professor Eastwick, and with the *Notes*, etc., of Professor Wilson; to Pritchard's *Celtic Nations*, by Latham; and to Latham's *Descriptive Ethnology*.

in the structure of the languages, certainly in the identity of words that are expressive of the same meaning in Sanscrit and Celtic dialects. From the comparative rudeness of the Celtic it may be inferred that, if derived from a common origin with the Sanscrit, it must have separated from the parent stock at a very remote period, long prior to the age of the earliest Vedic hymns—viz. the *Rigveda*—which, there is reason to believe, cannot have existed less, but portions of which were promulgated more than three thousand years ago.

The object of the present and immediately succeeding chapters is to show that many of the primitive monuments, customs, superstitions, rites, sacrifices, and objects of worship of the races inhabiting the peninsula of India were similar to those of the Celtic tribes in France and Britain. In a less degree, perhaps because not so well known, analogous monuments and customs will be noticed as existing in intermediate countries.

The departure of the Celtic race from the land of their ancestors and the East, if they did so depart, and from whereever it may have been that they proceeded, must have occurred at a very early and pre-historic period, when arts and civilisation were but faintly developed, and architecture was not only unknown in the region of their exodus, but also in the nations and countries through which they passed or on which they intruded; for notwithstanding the cold and moist climate of North Britain and the exposed peninsulas of Armorica, the dwellings of the Celts were not formed of durable materials. Yet in the Cyclopean monuments of these countries we

see proofs that the Celtic people could transport and raise masses of stone which in size were only surpassed by those in the ancient monuments of Egypt.

The disconnected links of a chain of Cyclopean monuments nearly similar in structure may be traced from Central and Western Asia, perhaps even from more remote countries, along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, particularly on the north coast of Africa ; from thence by Spain and Gaul to the extremities of the British Isles.

The notices of such monuments were collected before I became aware of Dr. Meyer's opinion regarding the routes by which the Celtic nations passed into Europe ; and the existence of these remains in the line mentioned certainly appears to be in some degree corroborative of his views,[1] in so far as regards the principal and earliest migration and route pursued by the Celts in their progress to the extreme west of the then known world.

Dr. Meyer thinks that the Celtic nation passed from Asia to Europe by two principal routes, which it resumed at different epochs, and thus formed two great streams of migration, flowing as it were periodically.[2] The one, in a south-western direction, proceeding through Syria and Egypt, thence along the northern coast of Africa, reached Europe at the Pillars of Hercules, and passing on through Spain to Gaul, then divided

1 Other circumstances favouring the opinion of Dr. Meyer are mentioned in treating of the Lia-Fail, or "Stone of Destiny," now in the coronation-chair at Westminster ; and in reference to the earliest recorded legend of the monument at Stonehenge.

2 Dr. Charles Meyer, in the *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1847, p. 303.

itself into three branches—the northern of which terminated in Great Britain and Ireland, the southern in Italy, and the eastern, running along the Alps and the Danube, terminated near the Black Sea. The other great stream of Celtic migration, proceediug in a more direct line, reached Europe at its eastern limit, and passing through European Scythia, and thence partly through Scandinavia, partly along the Baltic, through Prussia, and through Northern Germany, reached Britain across the German Ocean. Of these two streams of migration, the former (viz. by the north coast of Africa), although the less direct, seems to be the more ancient, and to have reached the north-west of Europe several centuries before the other.

The following are a few details regarding the Cyclopean monuments of India, which are similar to those of the Celtic countries of Western Europe ; including notices of monuments of like construction in intermediate countries, particularly such as are in the line of migration indicated by Dr. Meyer as that by which the earliest Celtic emigrants reached Gaul and Britain.

The identity or very strong resemblance of ancient monuments, superstitions, and customs existing in countries geographically remote and historically unconnected, cannot be solely attributed to certain animal instincts implanted in mankind. In cases where the resemblance is undoubted and the peculiarities great, such coincidences may with more probability be referred to former communication between the nations in which they appear, although intercourse between

them may be unknown to or unnoticed by history. By some writers the similar effects on isolated human communities by natural impulses said to be developed in certain phases of civilisation in the most distant countries and different climates have surely been overrated, and such coincidences may with probability be limited to exertions of intellect that but little surpass the instinct displayed not only by the higher order of unreasoning animals but even by members of the insect creation.

Architectural uniformity, although instinctive in the lower members of the animated creation, is certainly not an attribute of mankind. In the simple huts formed of stakes and rushes or of pickets and palm-leaves, in the underground houses the formation of which is attributed to pigmies, and in excavated cathedrals and Cyclopean structures, of which genii and giants get credit both for the design and execution, no two edifices are alike. This diversity of form in temples, dwellings, and monuments is common to all races and to all ages ; for as in ancient so also in modern times, and in the most civilised communities, as great a variety is observable in the fashion of the dwellings as in the features of their occupants. From the frail huts constructed by gipsies on a common to the palaces built for kings in the city, all are dissimilar, unless in some few situations where arbitrary power has enforced, in external appearance, an unnatural uniformity which is dull and displeasing to the eye even in street architecture.

Columnar megalithic fanes, dolmens, kistvaens, and several

varieties of Cyclopean monuments found in Celtic and other countries have their peculiarities, and are not simple suggestions such as might be supposed to arise in the untutored minds of alien races. The square or the triangle are as likely as the circle or ellipse to present themselves as satisfactory forms in which to arrange the columnar masses meant to designate a sacred enclosure; and the dolmens are neither peculiarly simple in design nor easy of execution when we consider the great masses of rock of which they are frequently composed.

It will not be disputed that the primitive Cyclopean monuments of the Dekhan of India were erected prior to the arrival of the present dominant race—the Hindus—who intruded themselves and introduced the Sanscrit language. The onward progress of the Hindus to general dominion in the Indian peninsula has, however, been so gradual and insidious that it is impossible to fix with any approach to accuracy when these intruders overcame the former possessors of the elevated table-land in which these monuments are most abundant. It may even be doubted, and on good grounds has been disputed, whether the immediate predecessors of the Hindus—the race that speak the most cultivated languages of Southern India, as the Telinga, Tamul, Canaresse, etc. —were the architects of the Cyclopean fanes and the occupants of the sepulchral tumuli of the Dekhan. They certainly do not appear to have been the aborigines, but to have supplanted an earlier people, as they were themselves overcome by the later migration of the Hindus from beyond the Vindhyan range of hills.

If it can be shown that there is an identity of form in the monuments which in remote ages were raised on the table-lands of India and in the western extremities of Europe, that of itself would be a fact of some importance in regard to the ethnology of the early races of mankind. But it becomes of more importance if it can be shown that similar monuments can be traced from that land where, in pre-historical ages, the Sanscrit language was perfected or early promulgated through various intervening countries to the British Isles.

In the Dekhan, rude Cyclopean monuments are to be seen constructed in all the varied forms in which they are to be found in France and Britain—monoliths arranged in circles single and concentric, in ovals and oblongs, in single and in several parallel lines, and occasionally numerous circles enclosed in one of larger dimensions.[1] All these varieties may there be found in connection with dolmens, kistvaens, galgalls, barrows, and other primitive stone memorials that exist in Britain and Armorica.

In the absence of other evidence regarding the antiquity of the Cyclopean monuments of India, the contrast between the rock-cut temples and the most complete of the rude megalithic structures in the Dekhan may be pointed out. The formation of the excavated Buddhist cathedral of the Maharatta country at Karli is on sufficient evidence dated two thousand years ago. Let any one compare the most perfect groups of cromlechs, dolmens, and kistvaens with that won-

[1] A specimen of this form of monument may be seen at Leuchar in Aberdeenshire.

drous excavation—its design, its sculptures, and the result attained, which is thus described by an accomplished modern architect. Ferguson says: "The whole arrangements were such that an architectural effect was produced certainly superior to anything I am acquainted with in ancient and modern temples."[1] A very long interval of time must have elapsed ere the nation that reared the rude monuments could have designed or executed the elaborate sculptures, the groups of statues that form the abacus of every single pillar in the side aisles of the temple of Karli, which is hewn out of rock so hard that to this day the original sharpness of the cutting is retained. But the histories of India and Ceylon leave no reasonable doubt that it was a different race which excavated the numberless rock-cut temples of India and Ceylon from that which reared the Cyclopean groups. The Toophárámaya at Anuradhapoora in Ceylon, erected in the third century B.C., which was after the Hindu invasion of that island, proves that even at that period it had accomplished workmen and ingenious sculptors, who were in the practice, by means of wedges, of splitting the longest pillars from the granite rock.

In the primitive fanes, ancient temples, and modern Hindu places of worship in the Dekhan, may be found an additional and remarkable proof of the necessity of extreme caution in attempting to fix the date of any particular structure on reasons purely architectural, and in the absence of any record or inscription. I came on many extremely rude places of worship that had been lately raised according to the ancient

[1] Ferguson's *Rock-cut Temples of India*, p. 33.

In the Dekhan, near Poonah.

Keith & Gibb lithog.rs Aberdeen

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

form of the Cyclopean fanes, and ascertained that the same people who had ranged these stones in a circle consecrated to local and ancient deities, also acknowledge gods of more pretension and a different race. The simple fane and the elaborate inelegant pagoda are often very near each other. Many of the former may be seen in the cultivated portions of ground near Poonah and other towns abounding in Hindu temples; the cultivator evidently having more faith in the village or field deities than in those who occupy the pantheon patronised by the latest native rulers. That the simple Cyclopean fanes preceded the skilfully-designed and elaborately-executed Buddhist temples of the Dekhan we may feel assured. That the former would continue to be erected a thousand years after the rock-cut temples were deserted, without being destroyed, could never have been imagined. Yet so it is. Under the head of "Superstitions common to the Celtic and the Indian Nations" will be found facts connected with the worship of our heathen ancestors that are in some degree analogous to the endurance of the early deities of the Dekhan.

Before referring to more conspicuous Cyclopean remains on the table-land of India, I proceed to describe two groups, which, although of inferior proportions, are, in regard to the present subject, of more particular interest, as they had been renovated and used immediately before I had an opportunity of examining them. The first was a circular space 27 feet in diameter, marked out by twenty-three stones. The most prominent and only permanent portion of these were three upright stones placed contiguous to each other. They were on the western

side of the circle, fixed in the ground, and facing the east. These stones were about 3 feet in height; the others varied in height from 8 to 20 inches, and were placed, not fixed, at equal distances round the circumference of the area devoted to the rites of Vetal or Betal. An entrance into the space thus enclosed was formed on the east by removing directly backwards, to a distance of 12 feet, the stone which would otherwise have occupied that position in the circle. Immediately in front of the three principal stones which faced the east, and inside the circle, were placed three stones of lesser size, and to these I shall have afterwards occasion to refer. Outside the circle, towards the south-west,[1] at the distance of 12 feet, a stone was placed, but there was not here, as at the east side, any corresponding opening in the circle. It appeared as an acknowledged yet excluded member, for although thus placed aloof, it was of the same size, and, as well as all the other stones, had its inner surface whitened; over which and near the apex, for they were selected of a pyramidal form, was a spot of red colour.

This fane, although formed of inferior-sized materials to those used in the ancient Cyclopean groups, was apparently perfect in all its parts. Not only in this but in others of the kind, I have observed the stone placed towards the east, and outside the enclosure. Any one who may have visited Stonehenge cannot fail to have remarked a large monolith called the Friar's Heel, standing in nearly the same position relative to that monument. I have also mentioned another stone

[1] At Botallick in Cornwall, and many other places, are similar stones.

In the Dekhan, near Andlee.

Keith & Gibb Lithog.rs Aberdeen

which, although evidently connected with the group, was nevertheless placed without the pale on the south-west. One or more stones thus situated are commonly to be seen at these fanes;[1] but I was unable to ascertain the reason for their anomalous position, neither could I perceive that they were so arranged with reference to any particular point of the compass. Near the circular columnar fanes of Western Europe stones may be perceived in similar positions, but these have been generally regarded as portions of some more extended monument, of which they are the supposed remains.

The sacrifice offered in these "high places" of the Dekhan is generally a red cock,[2] but a goat is sometimes the victim. The blood of the sacrifice is offered to the spirit, but the votary wisely retains the flesh of the animal; the savour of its blood being deemed a substantial enough repast for the unembodied being whose favour it is sought to propitiate or whose wrath it is intended to appease. It is probable that the sacrifice of cocks and goats is but the representation of bloody sacrifices in which at some former period nobler animals and even human beings were involved. Within the last twenty years *meriah* (human sacrifices) were offered by the Khonds of the Indian peninsula.

The spot of red paint put over the whitewash on the inner side of each stone I believe to be typical, and to be occasionally used in place of the blood which, from motives of policy, humanity, or economy, some modern votaries are unwilling

[1] As at Botallick and other primitive monuments in Britain.

[2] A white one is also sacrificed occasionally.

to shed. It has, however, been suggested[1] that the red spot placed over the white near the apex of the stone is intended as a representation of fire, adopted as an emblem of light, and the sun, the origin of light and warmth. The manner in which I afterwards saw the red overlaid, except at its edges, by a smaller spot of black convinced me that it was designed to represent blood, the colour of which was thus successfully imitated. Nor was the red spot always placed at the apex, as would have been the case had it been intended as a representation of flame.[2]

I now revert to the stones laid in front of the principal members of the circle, facing the east. On one of these I believe the cock was offered, although perhaps not there sacrificed; for in Ceylon occasionally the individual who proffered the sacrifice bit off the head of the cock, and thus ensured a thorough sprinkling from the blood of the offering. The other stones within the circle were used for purposes of divination. It was believed that when lifted these stones felt light or weighty according to the degree of merit achieved by the votary in his sacrifice.

Although the plan of this temple had an evident relation to the position of the rising sun, yet I could not discover that the number or distribution of its component parts had any astronomical reference. I never saw any two of these fanes

[1] By Dr. Stevenson.

[2] The same red colour—viz. minium—seems to have been used in Rome for colouring the face of the most ancient statue of Jupiter on festal days. Minium was also generally used for various purposes on occasions of triumph, and obscene emblems of objects of worship seem to have been thus coloured at Rome, as they may be seen in the present day in India.

in which the same number of stones had been erected. In some places there were as few as five or six, in others as many as thirty, and occasionally even more, of these rude pyramidal-shaped stones chosen to mark the consecrated area. I believe the proportion of stones disposed in the circle had reference to the number of individuals or families who were partakers in the sacrifice. In fanes of greater pretensions the number of tribes or villages who assembled at a general place of rendezvous may have regulated the extent of the area and the number and size of the surrounding columns. Moses at Mount Sinai,[1] and Joshua at Gilgal,[2] caused twelve pillars to be erected. At both these places the pillars were near or around altars, and the number twelve we are expressly informed was to represent the twelve tribes of Israel. In Scotland on Hallowe'en the people were wont to perform, and still do practise, a great variety of superstitious ceremonies, which are generally different modes of divination, and are all evidently of heathen origin. In one of these ceremonies the arrangement is in some degree analogous to that of the temples of the Dekhan. It is thus described in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*:—[3]

"On All Saints' Even they set up bonfires in every village. When the bonfires are consumed the ashes are carefully collected in the form of a circle. There is a stone put in near the circumference for every person interested in the bonfire, and whatever stone is moved out of its place or injured before next morning, the person represented by that stone is devoted or fey, and is supposed not to live twelve

[1] Exodus xxiv. 4. [2] Joshua iv. 20. [3] Parish of Callander, Perthshire.

months from that day." "These rites," says Dr. Jamieson, "can be viewed in no other light than as acts of devil-worship."[1]

The ceremonies and sacrifices in most of these rude temples of the Dekhan to which I have referred were in honour of the god Vetal or Betal, who is called a demon by the Brahmins. God or demon signifies but little, if I may judge by the histories of these beings as given by their own votaries. The god and demon seem to be on a par as to their virtues, and only to differ in the amount of power attributed to each. There seems, however, to be a sufficient reason for the worship of Vetal and other gods of early times being denounced by the Hindu caste of priests—viz. that any individual may sacrifice to them without the interference of a Brahman.[2]

Another of these primitive places of worship, but of a different form, which I accidentally discovered, had been partly renovated and recently used. This fane consisted of three stones, the middle one being four feet above ground, and those on each side somewhat less. These stood immediately in front of the centre of two straight lines, each of which consisted of thirteen stones. These lines were close together, and the edges of the stones were placed as near to each other as it was possible to do with slabs which, although selected, had never been artificially shaped. The stone in the

[1] Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, article "Hallowe'en."

[2] The worship of Vetal prevails in the Konkan, Dekhan, Kanara, Guzerat, and Cutch; and the facts connected with this system of worship all favour the opinion expressed by Dr. Stevenson—viz. that it is anti-Brahmanical.

Near Belgaum, in the Dekhan, India.

Lt Colonel Forbes Leslie, Del.

Keith & Gibb Lithog.rs Aberdeen.

centre of each line was nearly as high as the highest of the three that stood in front, but the others gradually decreased in size from the centre, until those at the ends were less than a foot above ground, into which they were all secured. Three stones, not fixed, were placed in front of the centre of the group: they occupied the same position, and were intended for the same purposes, as those in the circular temple just described. All the stones had been selected of an angular shape, with somewhat of an obelisk form in general appearance. The central group and double lines faced nearly east, and on that side were whitewashed. On the white, near, although not reaching quite to the apex of each stone, nor extending altogether to the sides, was a large spot of red paint, two-thirds of which from the centre were blackened over, leaving only a circular external belt of red. This gave, as I believe it was intended to do, a good representation of a large spot of blood. Twelve feet behind and parallel to the lines of stones, were disposed at equal distances from each other four small altars. The horizontal slab of each, about two feet in length, was supported by three other stones, which raised it about eight inches from the ground. Two of the supporting stones formed the ends, the third was the back: thus the small space beneath the tabular slab was left open to the east. These altars were apparently erected at a later period than the other portions of the fane, for the stones in them were all squared, whilst the rest were unhewn. Neither did they seem to have entered into the arrangement of the persons who had lately worshipped at this temple, and had cleared

and coloured the rude stones, but left these altars overgrown with moss and partly obscured by grass and rubbish. This monument was on the western side of India, on the table-land above the Ghauts in the Maharatta country. But nearly similar in arrangement are monuments described as existing on the eastern frontier of Bengal.[1]

There were remains of some broken earthenware lamps which had been lighted before the central group of stones. This offering of lights at festivals is very general in the peninsula of India and in Ceylon. In the latter country, in some remote provinces, visitors of rank, in entering the house prepared for their reception, had to pass between lighted lamps placed on each side of the threshold; whether in mid-day or at night the lamps were equally lighted, and the ceremony was not only a mark of respect, but was intended to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. In many of the Kandian religious ceremonies incense was burnt and lights were offered. The festival of the Dipali in India is in honour of light, and, like the ancient Kartia Mangalla of Ceylon, might appropriately be called "the Festival of the Lamps." During the continuance of the Dipali one of the days is dedicated to the worship of Bali. This arrangement, according to the Brahmans, was a boon granted to Bali by Vishnu when he deceived and dethroned that virtuous sovereign. May not Bali deposed by Vishnu mean the worship of Baal superseded by the Brahmanical gods? and may not the festival and illumination accorded

[1] Paper by Lieutenant Yule, Bengal Engineers, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 92.

by Vishnu to his vanquished adversary Bali be the politic toleration of a solar festival which the Brahmans were unable to suppress? In Ceylon Bali means planetary worship, Bhála signifies light, and Baliya is the image of any particular planet to which sacrifice is offered.[1] Our heathen ancestors, and probably all other nations, in some form worshipped the sun Baal, and to a compromise similar to what I suppose was accorded by the Brahmans to Bali we may owe the introduction into Christian churches of those lights which are ceremonial and not essential.[2]

The primitive temples of India, to which I have referred, appear to have been situated, like those of the Druids, in or near groves; for in those which I have seen, if trees no longer afforded shade, their gnarled ruins avouched the former existence of sylvan giants within or around the consecrated precincts. It is also to be remarked that where trees still exist, the principal stone, which represents the god, is always placed on the eastern side of the tree.

The two primitive fanes thus somewhat minutely described are not comparable in extent or size of materials to many monuments of a similar kind that are to be found in the Dekhan, but having been lately renovated and occupied, their arrangements, and the ceremonies performed in them, may assist in forming an opinion as to the objects for which Cyclopean fanes were raised in other countries, and the nature of the rites which they were destined to witness.

[1] This is more particularly noticed in the article on "Baal or Bel."

[2] A circular columnar fane at Old Rayne, Aberdeenshire, occupies the summit of a rising ground called the "Candle-Hill."

The Brahmans affect to despise and emphatically denounce the local and village gods, whose ceremonies in worship require no acknowledged priest for their performance. Yet the complicated idolatry of the modern Hindus, with its lofty fanes and high pretensions, is even more repugnant to reason, and, moreover, is openly and ostentatiously obscene. In the Dekhan, Brahmanism, no longer supported by the civil power and influence of a Peishwa, is yielding to the simplicity of ancient rites. These appear in the rural population to be rapidly springing from a position of compulsory prostration, but will probably offer no great, certainly no organised, opposition to the introduction of Christianity—such as may be expected from the subtilty, intrigues, and energies of a combined priesthood interested to preserve the "pride of place" and the profits incident to the superior social and sacerdotal position claimed by Brahmans.

In the articles in which the different kinds of primitive monuments are described, reference has been made to those similar or identical in form that are found in the peninsula of India. A list of such of these as are common to that region, and to the Celtic countries of Western Europe, is now subjoined:—

Barrows containing human remains.

Cairns, simple, or surrounded by single, double, or triple circles of stones.

Cairns and barrows surmounted by circles of stones, or dolmens, or single pillars.

Cairns and barrows containing skeletons in stone cists, above which are thrown other skeletons.

Cairns without cists, but containing urns filled with bones and ashes.

Circular areas defined by rude columnar monoliths.

Circular areas containing dolmens and kistvaens.

Dolmens, or "altar rocks surrounded by a double ring of large stones."[1]

Dolmens, in some of which the tabular and other stones are nearly equal in size to the largest monuments of similar construction in Britain, and under which no human remains are found or appear to have been deposited. Some of these dolmens are raised on bare and solid rocks.

Dolmens of various sizes, under which human remains are found.

Kistvaens, properly cells, being open on one side.

Kistvaens without any opening, in which are found human remains in urns, with ashes, bones, and charcoal.

Kistvaens closed above and on all sides, but having a circular aperture in one of the slabs forming the sides and ends of the kistvaen. One precisely similar has been discovered and described in Circassia.[2] These all contain human remains which had undergone cremation.

Cells formed of four or more large slabs. The present inhabitants of the Dekhan believe these cells to have been the dwellings of pigmies who existed before the present race of mankind.

[1] The description of one of these near Shahpur is equally applicable to one of the inner temples of the great fane at Avebury in Wiltshire. —See paper by Major Meadows Taylor in the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society* for January 1853.

[2] Bell's *Circassia*, vol. i. p. 154.

In these monuments have been found remains of warlike weapons, personal ornaments, bells,[1] and pottery similar in form, colour, and ornament to that discovered in sepulchral deposits of Celtic countries.

The following are notices of Cyclopean remains, similar to those of India and Celtica, which are found in intermediate countries. Unfortunately they have seldom excited in the persons who discovered them so much interest as to obtain minute examination or detailed description.

Persia—Media.

Chardin in his travels in Media[2] in the end of the seventeenth century, describes circles of large stones that must have been brought a distance of six leagues to the place where he observed them. The tradition regarding these circles was, that councils were there held, each member of the assembly being seated on a separate stone.[3]

In the Persian province of Fars, Sir William Ouseley observed a monolith 10 or 12 feet in height surrounded by a fence of stones. This rude column had a cavity on the top. Similar instances—viz. of monoliths having a cavity on the top—existed among the primitive monuments of Scotland.[4] The same traveller remarked a few old trees which

[1] The most ancient British bells are like those commonly hung on the necks of buffaloes or bullocks in Ceylon and India.

[2] Between Tauris and Sultanie.

[3] Chardin's *Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 363, Langles' edition ; Kitto's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 411.

[4] In Kincardineshire, at Auchincorthie (Field of Circles), there were five circles of stones. On the top of one of the stones which stood on the east side of the largest circle there was a hollow three inches deep, along the bottom of which, and down the side of the stone, a channel was cut. An-

grew near this column, and these he supposed to be the remains of a consecrated grove.[1] One of the trees was thickly hung with rags, the votive offerings of the inhabitants of the country. Trees with such garniture may commonly be observed in the Dekhan and other parts of India, and not long since might be seen in many places in Britain, as is more particularly referred to in treating of the "Worship at Fountains." The monolith thus described, and adjacent to the grove, was called by an expression equivalent to "Stone of the Fire Temple." We know from Herodotus[2] that the ancient Persians, like their expatriated descendants the Parsees, were worshippers of the sun and fire—and the mysterious rites of the heathen inhabitants of Britain must have closely resembled those of the Persians, when the similarity induced Pliny to remark that Britain cultivates magic with ceremonial so august that it might be supposed that the art was first communicated from them to the people of Persia.[3]

Sir William Ouseley describes another monument in the province of Fars, near Darabgerd, which is similar to some found in Britain. This monument consisted of a fosse, and rampart of earth encircling a considerable space. Within the enclosure was an upright stone at least 20 feet in height,

other of the stones in this group had a similar cavity and channel. Other examples of such artificial cavities in ancient British monuments could be pointed out.—Gibson's *Camden*, vol. ii. p. 298; Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 73.

[1] Sir William Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 80-83.

[2] Herodotus, *Clio*, cxxxi.; and *Thalia*, xvi.

[3] Pliny, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 9.

which was held in veneration by the inhabitants. In another part of the enclosure, on a rising ground, were large rude stones forming a cluster irregularly circular; some of these were from 20 to 25 feet high, and one of greater height stood in the middle. Another towards the west resembled a table or an altar, being flat at the top; and under two or three were recesses or small caverns. After this description, Sir William Ouseley remarks, that a British antiquary might be almost authorised to pronounce them Druidical, according to the general application of this word.[1]

Syria.

Epiphanius, himself a native and inhabitant of Syria, describes an open circle as a place of prayer formed by the ancient Samaritans.

Palestine.

In treating, under separate heads, of the various kinds of primitive monuments in Celtic countries, repeated reference is made to those so nearly similar, of which mention is made in the Bible—for it is there alone of ancient histories that the description, with the date of the construction, of any such monuments is to be found. Various modern travellers in Palestine have described or noticed Cyclopean groups that appear exactly to correspond with the circular fanes, dolmens,

[1] Sir William Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 124. The engravings of these Cyclopean remains are in an extra plate, Nos. 13 and 14, at the end of his work.

and kistvaens in Gaul and Britain. The most interesting of these monuments is the circular temple of Baal on Mount Hermon described by Porter.[1] The kistvaens and dolmens seen by Irby and Mangles near the banks of the Jordan, and also near a place called Maya, towards the northern extremity of the Dead Sea, excited a remark from the travellers that these monuments resemble Kits-Coty House in Kent.[2]

Phœnicia.

Lord Lindsay remarks on a drawing which he saw of one of the Phœnician monuments at Souf, that it was "as decidedly Druidical as Stonehenge;" and adds, "it is an interesting but not surprising fact, for the god of the Druids was the Baal of the Phœnicians."[3] It would appear from Herodotus that the Phœnicians, or part of the early settlers in Phœnicia, anciently dwelt on the borders of the Red Sea[4]—other authorities say at an earlier period, near the Persian Gulf—and thence migrated, first to the shores of the Lake of Gennesaret, and afterwards to the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea.[5] In this case, therefore, there is, in the identity of the race, a probable cause for the resemblance of the primitive monuments in the Persian province of Fars, and in Palestine.

"A short distance from Adloun (about nine miles from

[1] Porter's *Five Years in Damascus.*

[2] Irby and Mangles' *Travels*, pp. 325-465.

Mr. Robertson Blaine made drawings of a cromlech near Gadara, on the east of the Jordan.

[3] Lord Lindsay's *Letters from the Holy Land*, p. 290.

[4] Herodotus, *Clio*, c. i.

[5] For this migration see Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, pp. 46, etc. etc., and the authorities which he quotes.

Tyre) is seen a small monolithical temple of high antiquity, apparently dedicated to Astarte."[1] This monument is mentioned by Dean Stanley as a "a monument of unknown age —a circle of upright stones—as at Stonehenge."[2] A similar monument, called Hadjar Lasbah, is mentioned by De Saulcy as being near the borders of the Dead Sea.[3]

Avenues of rude stones on the eastern side of the Dead Sea are compared by De Saulcy to the remains at Carnac in Brittany.[4] Dean Stanley in his *Sinai and Palestine* speaks of "the sacred trees and the sacred groves, under which were built altars, partly to the true God, partly to Astarte."[5]

The deities of the Phœnicians were worshipped in the form of unshaped stones called *baetyli*.[6]

Circassia.

In Bell's *Travels in Circassia* there are an engraving and a description of a kistvaen of very peculiar construction.[7] It is, however, a fac-simile of a kind commonly found in the Dekhan of India. In both countries the people who erected these monuments are equally unknown to reasonable tradition and authentic history, as may be inferred from the puerile legends, which are all that the present inhabitants of India and Circassia have to say regarding these memorials.

[1] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 19.
[2] Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 277.
[3] De Saulcy's *Palestine*, vol. ii. p. 69.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 362, 547.
[5] Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 144.
[6] Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 323.
[7] Bell's *Travels in Circassia*, vol. i. p. 154.

Troy—Homer.

In another chapter[1] the authority of Homer is quoted for councils, the members of which were seated on stones disposed in a circle; and to the tombs of his slain heroes, and their sepulchral mounds on the plain of Troy, reference is made in treating of that form of monument, and of "Funeral Rites common to Greeks, Indians, and Celts."

Malta—Goza—Tunis.

In Malta and Goza there are remains of monuments similar to those in India and Celtica, and such monuments are abundant in the regency of Tunis—the ancient territory of Carthage.[2] Among the donations to the Museum of Antiquaries in Edinburgh are mentioned portions of a skull and fragments of an urn from a cromlech at Algiers.[3]

North Coast of Africa.

Rhind mentions a kistvaen at Djelfa, cromlechs at Kabyla, a circle and other megalithic remains near Tangiers; also near Zebdou in Algeria; a cromlech of great size and height at Tiaret in Oran; long stones (menhirs) and many cromlechs twelve miles from Algiers.[4] These last are probably the primitive remains visited by R. R. Madden, Esq., in 1861, and described in the *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy* (vol. viii.

[1] "Circular Fanes used for Judicial Purposes."

[2] Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. ii. p. 322, quoting from Catherwood.

[3] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 53.

[4] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. p. 33.

p. 117). From this account it appears that in 1861 thirteen dolmens still remained entire at Bainen, thirteen miles west of Algiers. At the same place were the remains of twenty more which had recently been partly destroyed. One still stood within a circle of stones, and others had been similarly surrounded. The table-stones in all cases had a slope, from the supporting stones being lower at one end. These supports varied in number in different monuments. The stones were all unhewn; and in these monuments were found bronze implements, bones of men and animals, also beads and bracelets.

Mr. Davies, in his work, *The Ruined Cities of North Africa*, notices immense, massive, unhewn stones planted by human hands. At Moghrawa one stood near his tent which he judged to be 10 feet high above ground. The author says of these monolithic monuments that he believes "they stood where they now are before the invasion of the Arabs, anterior to the conquest of the Romans, and even prior to the arrival of the Carthaginians." The same author describes at Elmedad monuments similar to the Celtic kistvaens.[1]

In a work printed for private circulation by Mr. John Davidson,[2] it is stated that in travelling in Africa, at a place called Ensorah, or Autset, near Tangier, he came on extensive remains which he believed to be Druidical. These remains occupied a gentle elevation near a magnificent plain; and the author particularly describes a double circle of stones 148 feet

[1] Davies' *Ruined Cities of North Africa*, pp. 60-93.

[2] Quoted in Allies' *Antiquities of Worcestershire*, p. 376.

in diameter. One of the monoliths in this circle was higher than the others; it measured 16 feet in height and 6 in circumference. The principal entrance to this circle faced the west, and was 15 feet wide. Two other entrances of less importance were situated on the E.N.E. and W.N.W. sides. Near each of these was a group consisting of five stones, which formed a sort of vestibule to the adjoining entrance. At a distance of 200 feet a single stone, 6 feet in height, was fixed at an angle of 45°. Mr. Davidson adds: "The whole neighbourhood is full of similar circles, but smaller." There were no reasonable traditions, only the usual childish legends connected with these monuments, which the present inhabitants believed to have been erected by giants. Such fables are worth noticing only as showing that the race which erected the monuments was here, as elsewhere, unknown to the present inhabitants of the country in which these remains are found.

In tracing the chain of Cyclopean monuments we cross between the Pillars of Hercules—from Abyla to Calpe—from Africa to Europe—at Gibraltar, and leave the northern coast of Africa, which Polybius says was wholly possessed by the Carthaginians from the Philænian altars, which are by the Great Syrtis, to the straits of the Pillars of Hercules, a distance of six hundred miles.[1]

[1] Sallust, in the war of Jugurtha, quotes from African authorities, said to have been copied from books of Hiempsal, an account of the original inhabitants of Africa. Sallust declines being answerable for its accuracy, which rests with his authorities. Amongst others he mentions as settlers Persians, Medes, and Armenians, the Persians being on the coast, and extending more to the west than the others, and towards the (Atlantic) Ocean.

The legend which records the settlement of the monument at Stonehenge after it had been miraculously transported in succession from Africa, Spain, and Kildare in Ireland to its present situation may conceal an allegory—not improbably a fact—viz. that the form of such fanes was preserved by the Celtic nations which passed through these countries; and when they rested for a sufficient time, erected such durable monuments that, where man has not accomplished their destruction, thousands of years of natural decay have made but slight impression on the rude pillars and ponderous altars which are the characteristics of these primitive remains. The tradition of a Spanish origin to certain British and Irish tribes may be reckoned in some degree confirmatory of a Celtic migration through Spain, and the legendary history of the Lia-Fail, "the Stone of Destiny" in the coronation-chair at Westminster, points to migrations from Africa, through Spain and Ireland, to Scotland.

Italy.

Before returning to the line of monuments by the western limits of Europe, if we turn to Italy we find that Dennis, in his work on the *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, mentions remains exactly similar to Kits-Coty House[1] in Kent; and alludes to others existing in Sardinia and the Balearic Isles, and generally from the Iberian peninsula to the limits of

[1] Dennis, vol. ii. p. 320. The centaur, as it appears in the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, is also found depicted in the tombs of Etruria. See article "Centaur."

Hindu population and the steppes of Tartary. In accepting his facts I must express my dissent from his conclusions—viz. that such monuments, being rude and simple, might suggest themselves to any people, and do not approve themselves as belonging to any particular race.

We now return to the primitive monuments traced through Northern Africa to

Spain.

Borrow describes a "Druidical altar" which he discovered in the Sierra between Monte-Moro and Arroyolos, near the frontiers of Spain and Portugal.[1] It appears to be similar to a variety of the monuments, included under the head of kistvaens, which are common in Armorica, and resemble the Trevethy stones of Cornwall.

A passage in Strabo, which he quotes from Artemidorus, is very obscure, but points to groups, consisting each of three or four stones, which were placed on the sacred promontory of Iberia—Cape St. Vincent. It would appear that the stones were believed to possess occult powers, and the passage which describes these monuments is by some writers considered to allude to rocking-stones. The dolmen at Antiquera is 86½ feet long, 22 broad, and 10 feet 10 inches high. This measurement is in Spanish feet.[2] From the position of Antiquera, in the ancient division of Bætica, its primitive monuments may be referred, if not to any older race, either to the Celts or to the Phœnicians.

[1] Borrow's *Bible in Spain*, p. 35. [2] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. p. 49.

Lusitania.

Lusitania was Celtic, and the sacrifice of human and other victims was perpetrated by the Lusitanians with the same barbarities, and for the same object, as the Druids of Gaul and Britain immolated their prisoners taken in war.[1] One word is given of the Celtiberian and Celtic languages by Pliny[2] —viz. that which was used for golden armlets—and shows no great difference, these ornaments being called Viriæ by the Celtiberians, and Viriolæ by the Celts.

Gaul—Armorica.

Along the western provinces of Gaul, and the north-western division of ancient Celtica—viz. Armorica—which may be considered nearly identical with Brittany, are to be found the most extensive Cyclopean remains that exist in any country. At Toulouse we learn from ancient history that there were great primitive monuments. At Poitiers there still is a dolmen of considerable size ; but a much larger one is described by Chevreau as being there in the seventeenth century. The dolmen of Saumur is of great size, and in the chapters that treat of cromlechs, dolmens, menhirs, and other primitive monuments, will be found many notices of Breton monolithic remains extending to the most westerly part of Finisterre.

[1] See also article on the "Sacrificial Horse."

[2] Pliny's *Natural History*, xxxiii. c. 12.

Channel Islands.

The chain of these monuments is continued through the Channel Islands, where once there were many, and a few fine specimens still remain. Mr. Poindextre, writing of Jersey in 1691, says there are "no less than fifty assemblages of rude stones," which he considered Druid temples or altars.[1]

Great Britain and Ireland.

From the Channel Islands the chain of primitive Cyclopean structures reaches the Cassiterides, Scilly Isles, Great Britain, and Ireland. In all the divisions of the United Kingdom these monuments may be found or their existence may be traced, particularly in the northern and western provinces, in Ireland and in the Hebrides; everywhere retaining well-defined peculiarities of construction: and where these monuments exist similarity of superstitions and customs, as well as affinity of language, affords confirmation of a common origin or frequent intercommunication.

[1] Brayley and Britton's *Berkshire*, p. 190.

CHAPTER XX.

CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS COMMON TO THE INHABITANTS OF CENTRAL ASIA AND WESTERN EUROPE.[1]

Philological Affinities of Ancient Asiatic and Celtic Languages—Identity of Form in some of the Primitive Monuments, Customs, and Superstitions of Indian and Celtic Nations—Earliest Objects of Arian and Celtic Worship—Human Sacrifices common to both in the Earliest Historical Period—Superstitions and Customs common to the Inhabitants of India and to the Celts—"Fiery Cross"—"Arrow of Summons"—Sacrificing Cocks—Dame Alice Kyteler—Cardinal Benedict of Gaeta—Such Sacrifices still occasionally and secretly offered—Doctrine of the Metempsychosis—Sacred character of Bells—Absolution of former Sins, and Prospective Benefits acquired by a difficult Ceremony—Insanity believed to be cured by certain Ceremonies—The Superstition of the Serpent Gem of the Celts also prevails at Tadmor.

THE philological affinities of ancient Asiatic languages to the Celtic dialects of Gaul and Britain prove a connection between races who had thus in some degree a cognate language. There is also an identity of form in some, and a similarity in many, of the most ancient monuments still existing on the elevated table-lands of the East Indian peninsula and Persia to those that have been spared in various intermediate countries, and in the western states of Europe. The

[1] "Of their original paganism all Christian nations retain more than they care to own."—Latham's *Descriptive Ethnology*, vol. ii. p. 36.

argument in favour of former relations between the people who reared these enduring memorials is elsewhere more fully stated.[1] Besides affinity of language and similarity of ancient monuments, there is yet another subject, from the details of which it may be inferred that the inhabitants of these countries, so geographically remote, have derived from a common source, either of ancestry or of inspiration, something more than parts of speech or the design of Cyclopean fanes. I refer to customs and superstitions which will be found to have more of coincidence than can be attributed to accident, or to a species of instinct which it is sometimes averred leads men in certain states of civilisation to adopt the same habits and even the same form of monuments.[2]

The doctrine of the metempsychosis, as held by the Druids, did not extend to the transmigration of the souls of human beings into the bodies of inferior animals. Neither, if this doctrine was part of the belief of the Arian race at the period of the earliest Veda, did they recognise such possible degradation for departed mortals; for at that time it would appear the Hindus not only sacrificed but also ate the flesh of horses and cattle.[3]

Before proceeding further it is of consequence to note the ancient objects of Arian worship, as many of them were also objects of worship to the Caledonians. In later times, and in

[1] In treating of the Cyclopean monuments of Hindostan, etc.

[2] Objections to this theory are stated in the article on "The Monuments of Hindostan."

[3] See Dr. John Wilson's *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, p. 62; and the "*Asvamedha*, or Sacrifice of the Horse" in Professor Max Müller's *Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, pp. 355-357.

forms modified by local influences, I believe some of them to be symbolised by certain of the hieroglyphics on the sculptured stones of North Britain which have now, but possibly too late for successful elucidation, attracted the notice of archæologists.

It is asserted[1] on apparently sufficient data that the hymns of the Rigveda belong to different Arian families and congregations settled in India, and that the period of the compilation, at all events of the composition, of some of these hymns may be fixed more than three thousand years ago. The Veda does not professedly or designedly exhibit the origin of the earliest of the Hindu gods, but it nevertheless sufficiently reveals their descent, and displays to us the deities of the Arian race in their embryo state. In the Veda we discover, through an imperfectly-formed veil of mythology, that the earliest objects of adoration among the Arians were manifestations of divine Providence exhibited in the wonders of creation. Many of these, even at the remote era of the Rigveda, are found already personified, while others are in progress to materialisation. Still, symbolised abominations and deified mortals had not then accumulated to the extent which, in the Hinduism of later periods, has obscured the purer objects of an earlier worship—viz. that of light and heat, the planets and fire, air and atmospheric phenomena, water and the rivers, the bounteous earth. Evil was also acknowledged as a power, and in early Arian mythology had received personi-

[1] Professor Max Müller in *Transactions of British Association for* 1847, p. 321, etc.

fication by the name of Agha.[1] The Narmedha, man-sacrifice, was even in that early period established as a religious rite by the Hindus.[2] In this also the practice of our Druid ancestors was in conformity with the Arian race on the banks of the Indus.

Pritchard, in his work on *The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, says it would be a vain attempt merely from traits of resemblance in customs and superstitions, or even from doctrines and mythology, to ascribe a common origin to the nations of Europe and of the East; and he adds: "As well deduce Turks and Tartars from Arabia, and the Buddhists of Northern Asia from India or Ceylon." In these remarks he appears to undervalue the assistance which the history of the origin and progress of religions may furnish to ethnology, and an answer to the illustrations with which he concludes in a great measure refutes the proposition. Had history not been clear before Mohammed established his religion, it would surely have been of consequence to ethnology to find that the Turks and Tartars derived their religion from Arabia, and to learn whether it was transmitted by hereditary descent or imposed by violence. Fragments of history lately discovered, and inscriptions deciphered, prove that the Buddhist religion was disseminated by peaceful missionaries, that it originated in Central India, that it spread thence to Ceylon and Northern Asia, and that under various corruptions and with various combinations its creed extends to half the inhabitants of the

[1] Agha, in Cingalese, signifies "sin, pain."

[2] *Social State of Aryias at the Period of the Vedas*, by John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., pp. 67-73, Bombay, 1858.

earth. It has been well remarked that any amount of similarity between languages spoken in countries far remote from each other only proves a connection between the languages, and that the nature of that connection is a separate problem.[1] The same remark holds good as regards the resemblance of objects of worship, of customs, superstitions, and monuments in distant countries; all these have their value in assisting, although they are not of the same importance as intimate philological affinities in forwarding, the objects of ethnology.

Without any apparent inducement, various races and nations in Central Asia and Western Europe have retained and cherished certain traditionary usages in defiance of powers and penalties civil and religious. Condemned alike by rulers and by teachers—by Christian, Mussulman, Buddhist, and Brahman—despised by philosophy, denounced by religion, and persecuted by authority—these customs still survive, undefended but undiscarded. Existing by tradition only, they seem to have preceded history; yet even in the present day it cannot truly be announced that they are extinct in Great Britain. Intolerance and intelligence, for once combined and supported by power, have for more than a thousand years been baffled in all their attempts to root out superstitious usages which ignorance dares not openly approve, and intelligence unhesitatingly condemns. Without any defenders in that long period, these customs have offered no apparent, only a passive resistance, against which, however, the ceaseless attacks of many enemies have vainly spent their force. This of itself

[1] Pritchard's *Celtic Nations*, by Latham, p. 382.

might attract attention to these superstitions; but I now refer to them from the probability that they may be traced to a common origin with the most ancient emblems graven on the sculptured stones of Scotland, and that they are connected with the worship of the sun and moon and the whole host of heaven.

Under the head of the "Early and Heathen Objects of Worship in Britain," reference has been made to the "spirit of the earth," and to the propitiation of that spirit by human blood or human sacrifice, as a preliminary to the secure or enduring foundation for the commencement of any building. The same practice, it is asserted, prevails with the Millanaus tribe in Borneo, who are said to immolate a slave beneath the first pile of an intended edifice. Mr. St. John saw a chicken sacrificed beneath a flag-staff in course of erection in Borneo.[1] This is a common object of sacrifice in Hindostan; I have known it offered on the erection of a small rude pillar. The Khonds of Goomsur and Boad districts, in the Madras Presidency of India, offered human sacrifices to the earth-goddess in the form of a bird. In Chinna Kimedy the emblem of this goddess, when human sacrifices were offered, was an elephant. In Boad human sacrifices were also offered to the sun-god. The Khonds have other remains of the worship of the elements; and their god of each village is represented by three stones. They have also the belief that some women could assume the form of a tiger.[2]

[1] *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, by Spencer St. John.

[2] General Campbell's *Personal Narrative*, pp. 50, 55, 120.

The connection of heathenism or Druidism with the witchcraft known in Britain is most intimate. The witchcraft of the Christian period in Britain is, in most if not in all points, a remnant of paganism ; and this might reasonably have been imagined even if we had not found evidence of the fact in ancient authors. From them we find that among the Druids women prophesied, used incantations, and, it was believed, had power over the winds and waves ; could raise or allay tempests, heal the worst diseases, and change themselves into whatever kind of animals they pleased to represent.[1] Such also were the principal qualities attributed to the witches in Britain from the days of acknowledged paganism until and beyond the commencement of the nineteenth century.[2]

The same superstitions to a great extent exist on the slopes of the Himalayas and in Great Britain and Armorica. In Kumaon the people believe particular sounds to be a notice or the summons of approaching death ; that bands of spirits wander near their former haunts, and to encounter them is death. Their unearthly revelry may be heard, and the place as well as the spirits must be shunned by those who would avoid some dire calamity. There are sorcerers who can transform themselves into animals, and whose glance is the evil eye. This might still serve for a description of some of

[1] Pomponius Mela. Although this is related of priestesses in the isle of Sena, on the coast of Brittany, there is the authority of Cæsar for considering that the religion of the Gauls differed but little from that of the Britons ; and Tacitus says that the religious rites and superstitions of the Gauls and Britons were the same.

[2] The acts against witches were repealed in 1736 ; but the prejudices fostered and sanctioned by these laws are not yet at an end.

the Breton superstitions, and in Britain they were long generally prevalent and are not yet extinct.

In the blasphemous reveries, pretended revelations, and forced or forged confessions of persons accused of magic preserved in records of the middle ages,[1] and in the *Demonology*[2] of that poor specimen of a king and a Scotchman, King James I. of England, it is asserted that sorcerers and witches could raise tempests, cause barrenness to the earth or animated beings, and transform themselves into animals. I shall here note a few connecting-links in the chain of imposture, which extends from the days when the Persian Magi appeased the storm which destroyed four hundred vessels in the fleet of Darius,[3] up to that comparatively recent period when in Britain increased intelligence rejected modern miracles, and refused any longer to immolate helpless human victims to the demon of ignorance.

It is remarkable to find Strabo[4] calling the priestesses of an island on the Armorican coast "Samnite women, Bacchantes." As these coasts and islands were the strongholds of Druidism it shows how the rites there practised must have corresponded with Samnian orgies, and recalls the dictum or opinion given by Latham of the Celtic element in early populations of Italy as well as in the Latin language. Once a year these island priestesses unroofed their temple, and completely restored the roof before sunset.[5]

[1] Works of John Nider, 1440. "The Malleus Maleficarum" of two inquisitors. — Wright's *Sorcery and Witchcraft*, vol. i. pp. 153-298, etc.

[2] *Demonology*, p. 117.

[3] Herodotus, *Polymnia*, cxci.

[4] Book iv. chap. iv. sect. 6.

[5] In Ceylon (also in India) in early

The Druid priestesses of Sena, in the British Sea, bestowed favourable winds or raised storms at their pleasure. The witches of Tranent busied themselves in getting up adverse gales to retard the union of James I. and his worthy mate, Anne of Denmark. At least so the king believed. Hundreds if not thousands of people were sacrificed by cruelty, the result of cowardice acting on superstition, when tyrants civil and ecclesiastical, and a people bewildered with terror through the perversion of teachers and of truth, found revenge for freedom of thought, or relief from fear, by the savage immolation of dreaded opponents or helpless fellow-mortals—stigmatised as heretics, witches, or sorcerers. An orthodox bishop, Germanus of Auxerre, in the fifth century, quelled a raging storm, and saved himself from death in the British Channel by incantations. He was also an exorcist; for afterwards, when he cast out evil spirits from heterodox Britons, the demons confessed they had raised the storm to obstruct his holy mission. Whether these actions were or were not performed by Germanus, they are certainly recorded as facts by Venerable Bede, which is of more consequence as showing that in the eighth century an ecclesiastical dignitary received credit for controlling the winds, directing the storm, and ejecting devils. All these and many other miracles are also said to have been performed by St. Columba in the sixth

histories, mention is made of the most efficacious religious offerings, completed betwixt sunrise and sunset. Thus, a robe offered to a high-priest was of cotton, spun, woven, and dyed on the same day it was presented. The highly-finished stone temple which held the tooth of Buddha, at Pollonarrua, was put together—built—in one day.

century, and were certainly recorded in his Life, written by St. Adamnan in the century after; the statements in that work being derived, as its author states, in part from written and in part from oral authorities. In that Life we find that the locks and gates of the residence of the Pictish king having been closed against St. Columba, he caused them miraculously to open.[1] Less than three centuries ago ignorant or unconsecrated persons accused of such practices were sacrificed at the stake, although they must have been as innocent of the commission of impossibilities as the canonised missionary.

The ancient inhabitants of Sinde, prior to the Mohammedan invasion in the first century of the Hijera,[2] appear to have had tricks of witchcraft and trials by ordeal similar to those practised up to a late date in Scotland by or upon witches. Those of Sinde could charm the butter from the milk of their neighbours' cows, and add it to the produce of their own dairy. The Sindians, also the Tartars, the Syrians, and various nations in Asia, could foretell events by looking through the blade-

[1] Reeves's *St. Adamnan's Vita St. Columbæ*, pp. 151, 152.

On 18th August 1590, Bessie Roy, nurse in the family of John Leslie of Balquhain in Aberdeenshire, amongst other acts of witchcraft, was accused of opening locks on various occasions "by enchantment."—Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 208.

In 1590, Fian, the Tranent schoolmaster, when accused of witchcraft, after wonderful endurance of most horrible tortures, was driven to madness, and his ravings were seized upon as confessions by the savages, amongst whom was King James VI. and his Privy Council, who were the inquisitors of those whom they were determined to convict of supernatural power and infernal practices. One of the points of alleged confession was, that, after having in a contrary direction to the course of the sun gone round the church of North Berwick, Fian caused the church door to open by merely blowing into the lock. This man was one of many then burned for witchcraft.

[2] Hijera, A.D. 622.

bone of a goat.[1] These were also practices of Scotch witches and Highland seers; who, like their Asiatic brethren, had occasionally to endure trial by fire and water.[2]

An extraordinary custom—viz. "fasting against" and "cursing" some individual obnoxious to the person performing these rites—was practised by early Christian teachers who have been placed in the list of saints; and not satisfied with acts in themselves so contrary to the principles of their religion, in one case at least a saint has got credit for success achieved by fraud and cunning in the practice of this heathenish ceremony.[3] This rite of "fasting against" some one whom it is intended to injure, by which accompanying maledictions may have more speedy effect, is still a common practice amongst devotees and the self-consecrated vagabonds who infest India. Not only the most painful austerities are practised, but self-immolation also, by natives of India. If self-immolation were not in some cases encouraged or practised by early Christian saints of Ireland and Caledonia, their ecclesiastical biographers have done them more or less than justice; as in the case of St. Oran, or Odhran, the companion of St.

[1] See "Parish of Applecross in Rossshire," in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 380, for the existence of belief in the evil eye, and in witches having power to abstract the substance of milk. See also article by Postans in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, February 1838; and Martin's *Western Isles of Scotland* and Gibson's *Camden*, p. 380, for similar superstitions in Ireland. See also trial for witchcraft of Bessie Roy, 18th August 1590, and others, in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. pp. 207-9; Isobel Gowdie's *Confessions*, 13th April 1662, vol. iii. pp. 603-5.

[2] The mode of divination by the blade-bone of a sheep was practised in Persia and in England.—Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Sir H. Ellis, vol. iii. p. 179, etc.

[3] Reeves' *St. Adamnan's Vita St. Columbæ*, Introduction, pp. 54 and 77.

Columba;[1] the virgin in the history of St. Enna and St. Fanche; St. Patrick and the daughters of King Laoghaire.[2]

To point out other customs that seem to have been common to the aborigines of India and of Albion, it is necessary to refer to tribes which in the wilds and forests of Hindostan remained unnoticed or unsubdued by the various powers, Brahmanical, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, that successively exercised dominion in the peninsula of India. In the subject now under consideration it is this immunity alike from conquest and the coercion of religious persecutors, which principally enhances our interest in the customs and superstitions of tribes so uncivilised as the Tudas of the Neilgherry hills and the Khonds of Goomsur; as it seems probable that they have, in a great degree, retained their primitive manners, customs, forms of worship, and modes of sacrifice, from the era of the deified Rama to that of his more powerful successor in Oude—the British viceroy at Calcutta.

The Khonds are here taken as a general representation of an early race, if not the earliest of the races, existing in India, because their customs and superstitions have lately, from peculiar circumstances,[3] become better known, and have also been more clearly recorded.[4] But the homage of the Khonds to the sun and moon, and many of their customs, are to be found among various tribes that inhabit the mountains and forests forming the great boundaries or intermediate

[1] Reeves' *St. Adamnan;* Father Innes' *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.*

[2] Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 125, 126, 451-3.

[3] The Goomsur war.

[4] Captain M'Pherson's Report, 1842, and General Campbell's work published in 1864.

divisions of the area watered by the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra.[1]

There can be little doubt that several of the tribes now inhabiting the mountains and forests of the Dekhan of India are not far, if at all, removed from the state in which they existed when the country was gradually subjected by the encroaching Hindus from a northern region; bringing with them a new and more complicated social system, accompanied with an usurping priesthood, the eventual compilers of a more palpable idolatry. We may even venture to look farther back, and from existing institutions in the social organisation and superstition of the primitive races, to conclude with much probability that the attributes of these communities have varied but little since the period when Vishnu is believed by the Hindus to have been incarnate as Ramachandra. True, we have nothing older than the Ramayan, except the indistinct notices of the Vedas, from which to infer the earliest custom of the Indian aborigines. But as the Ramayan is a sacred work, and embodies the mythology of its era, it may also be presumed to contain the received traditions at the time it was written of the hero-god and his rude allies of the Indian peninsula, not less, probably much more, than twenty-five centuries ago.

The Khonds are described in 1842 as possessing a daring courage, practising a generous hospitality, and adhering to their engagements with a fidelity that defied alike the temp-

[1] Abundant evidence of this will be found in Latham's *Descriptive Ethnology*, vol. i. pp. 96, 109, 122.

tations of reward and the terrors of punishment. Such also were the characteristics of Rama's allies. Like them, the Khonds use cruel and detestable forms of sacrifice; and to this day the different tribes of Khonds take their designation from various animals, as the Bear tribe, Owl tribe, Deer tribe, etc. etc. In this we probably have the explanation of the form attributed to the mountain chief of the Dekhan and his followers—Hanuman, Rama's spy, councillor and general—who, famed for subtilty, wisdom, and, above all, for success, has, notwithstanding these merits, suffered deification in the undignified form of an ape. In this form he and his followers are immortalised in the sacred poetry of the Hindus,[1] and figure prominently in the annual religious festivals in which Rama and Seeta are scarcely more considered than the simious and most popular deity Hanuman.

Another race mentioned in the wars of Rama and Rawena are the eagle allies of the Brahman hero-god. They had doubtless as much of the king of birds in their form as the modern Khond class of the owls have of the bird of Minerva. Not only the history of Rama, but also the heathen rites of our forefathers in Britain, may receive illustration through the modern revelations regarding the religious customs, barbaric virtues, and abominable human sacrifices of the Khonds.

The Khonds worship the "earth-goddess," and from the following account of an ancient Irish superstition it may be inferred that the Celtic or Gaelic population of that country

[1] Ramayan and Raghuwanzae of Sanscrit, and Rawena-Katáwa of Cingalese authors.

acknowledge a similar object of fear or reverence.[1] "When any one gets a fall he springs up, and turning about three times to the right, digs a hole in the ground with his knife or sword, and cuts out a turf, for they imagine there is a spirit in the earth."[2]

The sun and moon are regarded as deities by all the Khonds, but neither to the "sun-god nor to the moon-god" is ceremonial worship addressed. They are acknowledged by a simple reverence, which is paid to them when visible upon every occasion of public solemnity, whether religious or not.[3] This is curiously illustrative of the passage in Job: "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart has been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above."[4] In some parts of Scotland to point at the stars, or to do aught that might be considered an indignity in the face of the sun or moon, is still to be dreaded and avoided; so also it was not long since, probably still is, in Devonshire and Cornwall. The Jews seem to have been equally superstitious on this point;[5] and the Persians believed leprosy to be an infliction on those who had committed some offence against the sun.[6]

[1] See also chapter on the "Spirits, Atmospheric and Terrestial" — the spirit of the earth.

[2] Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson, vol. ii. p. 378.

[3] Captain M'Pherson's Report, 1842. The worship of the sun is to be found mentioned in the Mahá-Bhárata; see Monier Williams' *Summary*, p. 94.

[4] Job xxxi. 26-8.

[5] Jeremiah viii. 1, 2.

[6] Herodotus, *Clio*, cxxxviii.

The god of each Khond village is represented by three stones,[1] and every knoll and eminence has its deity. They have also gods of springs, of fountains, of forests, rivers, and limits. Our heathen ancestors in Britain were not more discriminating in their objects of worship, which comprised all those enumerated in the Khond list.

The "Patriarch's arrow of summons" of the Khonds is a counterpart of the "fiery cross" of the Celts. Dipped in the blood of a sacrifice, and seared with fire, we cannot doubt the heathen origin of this "true token," which summoned a Scottish clan to combat or warned them to prepare for resistance. With the Khonds and the Celts the summons was alike peremptory, and its transmission equally speedy. It is probable that in this case the sign of the Christian superseded a pagan emblem which betokened to the Celt the urgent demand for the assembly and service of the clan; and no emblem suggests itself as more probable than "the arrow of summons." In fact, there are strong reasons for supposing that this was the original emblem; for until a comparatively late period the arrow was used as the sign by which the people of Shetland were summoned to assemble. The "Croistara," or cross of gathering, is only a particular form of the symbol of assembly of the Gaels. The general name was "Cranntara," the shaft or bolt of gathering.

There is a form of acquiring legal possession in the transfer of land which was common to the Khond and to the Scot—viz. the gift of earth and stone. Such contemptible jugglery

[1] Rev. Dr. Stevenson, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, No. ix.

may be excused in a people who at the same time offered human sacrifices and were guilty of "gross and indescribable excesses."[1]

The aborigines of India in the days of the early Vedas made sacrifices by night where four roads met, as still do their descendants. So did the witches of Britain. A cock even now is a very common victim of sacrifice in the rites of all the less-civilised tribes and castes of India.[2] So it was with the Jews,[3] also with the sorcerers and witches of Western Europe, as well as with the Arabs previous to the appearance of Mohammed[4] and the enforcement of his religion. Out of many it may be sufficient here to quote two cases of the alleged sacrifice of cocks in Europe, and to repeat that the cock was an animal especially sacred to the sun.[5]

In the year 1324 Dame Alice Kyteler, a lady of family and fortune, was accused and convicted of having sacrificed nine red cocks and offered nine peacocks' eyes to a familiar spirit where four roads met in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny. This lady and her allies were also accused of having boiled portions of cocks which had been sacrificed to demons, along with other villanous compounds, in the skull of a felon.[6] About the same period the Cardinal Benedict of Gæta, after-

[1] Probably the Khonds abandoned this ceremony before Scotch legislators abolished it.

[2] Nor is this sacrifice confined to the ignorant either in India or in Ceylon.

[3] *Ancient Universal History*, vol. iii. p. 49, note.

[4] Sale's *Preliminary Discourse to the Koran*, p. 15.

[5] The cock was especially sacred to Helios (the sun) and to Æsculapius.—Smith's *Dictionary*, "Helios."

[6] See the *Trial of Dame Alice Kyteler*, published by the Camden Society in 1843; also Wright's *Magic and Sorcery*.

wards Pope Boniface VIII., was accused by a friar, Bernard de Sorano, of having held communication at night with demons, whom he raised by drawing round himself a circle in the earth, within which he sacrificed a cock, and performed other acts of demonolatry.[1] Whether jealousy produced a false charge by the friar against the future pope, or the wealth and influence of the Lady Alice Kyteler and her family stimulated the Bishop of Ossory to her persecution — whether it were through superstition and ignorance, or from innate falsehood and malignity of the friar of Sorano and the bishop of Ossory that such charges were invented—does not affect the value of these cases as proofs that five hundred years ago, in Italy and Ireland, cocks were believed to be objects of sacrifice to demons.[2] They are so sacrificed at the present day in

[1] Wright's *Magic and Sorcery*, vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

[2] On November 12, 1597, Christian Saidler and Christian Levingstone were tried, convicted, and burned as witches at Edinburgh. One of the acts of which they were found guilty was killing a red cock, and with its blood baking a flour-bannock, which they gave to Andrew Pennycuicke of that Ilk to eat. They seem also to have practised the water-cure on the same patient, but being unsuccessful in their treatment, the baron, whose moral guilt and ignorance appear to have equalled those of the witches, gave up the wretched women to a cruel death. —Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27.

In 1623 Thomas Grieve was tried, convicted, and burned at Edinburgh as a sorcerer. Among other acts of which he was accused and found guilty was curing a woman of fever by various ceremonies with a hen (a fowl) which he passed three times through a hole made in the wall of the house, then placed it under the woman's arm, and finished the incantation by a sacrifice—viz. burning the live fowl to death in the fire (Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii. p. 557). This miserable man also, like many others of those accused of sorcery, who were offered as sacrifices to the demon of ignorance, practised successfully the water-cure, by dipping the shirt of the patient in holy wells or in south-running water, and placing it wet upon the sick person (iii. 557).

By the ancient Britons it was deemed unlawful to eat the hare, the cock, and the goose.

Britain as well as in Ceylon and in the Indian peninsula. That the crowing of cocks is still the warning sound for all spirits that wander by night to depart from the ken of the inhabitants of earth, is an impression—an unacknowledged, but not extinct superstition—in Britain as well as in these countries of the East.

In India, as in Britain, there is a common superstition against persevering in a journey if at the commencement the traveller encounters certain persons of ill-repute or repulsive physiognomy, or if his path is crossed by animals deemed inauspicious. In this century a clergyman has been known to return home and recommence his journey because on the first essay a hare had passed across the road before him. It was believed that the Druidesses could assume the form of certain animals,[1] and this belief in later times was extended to their successors, the witches. The hare in Scotland was regarded with much suspicion,[2] as the witches were supposed

[1] Pomponius Mela.

[2] An instance of this occurred in the present century contiguous to what are now the estates and royal residence in Aberdeenshire. A servant at Abergeldie, who, along with other duties, was employed to kill game to supply the table of his master, had repeatedly fired and missed a hare near the same spot. This he chose to attribute, not to his own want of skill, but to the animal being a witch that had assumed the form of a hare. To revenge himself and counteract the witch's malice, he loaded his gun with a crooked sixpence, went out, searched for, found, fired, and again missed the hare. Soon after this, however, an old woman, who lived in the neighbourhood, having an attack of lumbago, the baffled sportsman, and many others, believed that the pains in her back were the effects of the silver coin which he had fired at the hare.

On the 13th of April 1662 Isobell Gowdie made an official declaration before the sheriff, the clergyman, and others, not only confessing her own acts of witchcraft, but implicating many persons. Amongst these was Isobell Mor, who, she said, assisted in committing mischief after having assumed the form of a hare. Isobell

often to transmute themselves into the form of that animal. It is curious to find from Cæsar that two thousand years ago it was unlawful for the inhabitants of Britain to eat the flesh of the hare, the cock, or the goose.

Sacrifices and offerings to demons, propitiating them by songs and games, and with incense, were practised in the seventh and eighth centuries in Britain,[1] as they now are in Ceylon. In the tenth century "heathen songs and devils' games" are forbidden by law.[2] So they have been for twenty centuries in Ceylon, and notwithstanding exist in force to the present day. Neither are divinations and "devils' games" yet extinct in any of the divisions of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

The doctrine of the metempsychosis prevailed alike among the aborigines of the Indian peninsula and of the Celtic countries of Western Europe. In regard to the early Celtic inhabitants the direct testimony of ancient authors is fully confirmed by the remains found in the sepulchral tumuli of the heathen period. We find that the deceased warrior had been consigned to his place of sepulture decorated with the gold ornaments which he had worn, and with the wea-

Gowdie gave the formula by which a witch could transform herself into the likeness of a hare, and also that by repeating which she regained her former shape. These are preserved, and appear in the fanciful ravings termed the Confession of Isobell Gowdie.—Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, 4to, vol. iii. pp. 605-7.

1 "Quicunque cibum dæmonibus immolatum comederit. . . Quicunque grana combusserit in loco ubi mortuus est homo, pro sanitate viventium et domus v. annos jejunet."—"Confessional of Ecgbert, Arch. Ebor.;" "Theod. Arch. Cant.;" "Laws of King Wihtraed;" in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. i. p. 41, vol. ii. pp. 33, 157.

2 By King Edgar. *Ancient Laws of England*, vol. ii. p. 249.

pons which he had used placed ready for farther combat. The rarity and the value of these ornaments and warlike implements in such remote periods show how firm was the belief that in a future state the arms of the deceased were indispensable to his progress, when the survivors thus sacrificed to the supposed necessities of the departed warrior what would have been their own most valuable inheritance.[1]

In later times, when instruments and weapons of metal had in a great degree superseded those of stone, and Christianity was overcoming paganism in Britain, the warlike arms of the deceased seem still in some cases to have been deposited along with his mortal remains. It has been said that this was a form of honour, and that occasionally the weapons found in graves of the Christian period are broken, and were so on purpose to show that the earthly and bodily conflicts of the deceased were for ever at an end. Had not the heathen faith and practice at the time of such interments been too strong for Christianity openly to combat, it would have been a more simple arrangement, recommended also to the self-interest of the survivors, to have retained the weapons in their own possession, unbroken and unburied. The depositing in the grave the arms of the deceased, whether practised in the Christian period or not, was heathenism derived from that form of belief in the immortality of the soul which is included in the doctrine of the metempsychosis.

[1] Ezekiel refers to the mighty that have fallen, and whose swords were laid under their heads.—See Ezekiel xxii. 27.

In the tumuli of Britain, and also in those of the Dekhan of India, are found the skeletons of human beings as well as of various animals. These, from the position in which they are found, were evidently the remains of victims sacrificed to provide for the exigencies of the departed spirit when it passed into another body.

The pottery found commonly in all tumuli of Britain and India has an extremely close resemblance; but as the forms are simple, and the ornamental designs in no way remarkable, the resemblance cannot be considered an argument of much weight in regard to their being derived from examples common to the races that reared these sepulchral mounds.

In the barrows of the Dekhan of India bells are very commonly discovered, and less frequently in those of Britain. It is probable that bells obtained their original fame as anti-demoniacal, and even of innate sanctity, in the forest-covered countries of Asia. There they are of undoubted and great utility, and have been in use from the earliest periods. The Troglodytæ, when they travelled by night, had bells fastened round the necks of their cattle, in order to drive away wild animals;[1] and for the same reason, and as a matter of necessity, the practice is invariable in many countries of Asia. These bells are of many sizes and shapes, formed of various kinds and mixtures of metals, and also of different kinds of hard woods. Some are nearly square, others are round; some are open at the top, having a hole in which the tongue is sus-

[1] Strabo, b. vi. c. iv.

pended,[1] others are close at the top. In some the metal is very thin; these are generally formed of a large size, wide above, and narrow at the mouth. It is a most cheerful sound in the depths of an extended forest to hear approaching the varied and not inharmonious sounds produced by the numerous bells attached to a drove of baggage-bullocks. This sound forms a protection both to the animals and their owners against the attack of wild beasts. As tigers and others of their kind are very generally, by the superstitious native of India, considered incarnations of malignant spirits, the protection afforded by bells would naturally appear to him to be a counteracting and benignant influence. The bell within the enclosure on the summit of Samanella (Adam's Peak) in Ceylon is struck by all pilgrims who climb that consecrated pinnacle. Whether they be Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists, or Brahmans, all strike the bell as a security against evil spirits of the air, the forest, the flood, and the fell, which abound in that region of rolling clouds and impenetrable forests.

A bell was part of the usual insignia of ecclesiastical power in the early Christian church of the Celts, and was considered an essential engine in acts of exorcism. The bells of St. Ninian, St. Patrick, St. Columba,[2] St. Ternan, and many others, were not only preserved as venerated memorials, but were believed to possess miraculous powers inherent in themselves, as well as derived from their former possessors.[3] From this belief the

[1] This hole does not appear materially to influence the sound.

[2] "The curious do say that the ringing of bells exceedingly disturbs spirits." This was written in the end of the seventeenth century.—Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, p. 141.

[3] Wilson's *Prehistoric and Archæological Annals of Scotland*, pp. 654-662.

fame in such bells increased until superstition for once favoured truth ; and men became more afraid of swearing falsely on the bell of a saint than on the gospels of the evangelists.[1]

In authentic history, and in remaining superstitions in Britain, there are good reasons for believing that all the pagan rites attributed by Moses to the Canaanites, and certainly practised by the Jews in defiance of his warnings, were also parts of the heathenism of the ancient Britons. We find in his enumeration of iniquities, making a son or a daughter pass through the fire, using divination, observing times, being an enchanter, a witch, a charmer, a consulter with familiar spirits, a wizard, or a necromancer.[2] These practices being common to the inhabitants of Canaan and the Celtic countries is the more worthy of notice as there is also a resemblance in their rude Cyclopean fanes and monuments.[3]

At the rocks at Malabar Point, near the temple of Walkeshwar in Bombay, the tolmens in the Scilly Isles, Men in Cornwall, St. Declan's Rock at Tramore in the county of Waterford, the great stones at Craigmaddie in Stirlingshire, and various others, the same ceremonies are performed, and for the same objects—viz. forcing through a narrow aperture in each of these groups in the belief that thereby former sins or present sicknesses are left behind, and in hopes that prospective blessing may be secured.

In the last century in some parts of Scotland the belief still

[1] The form of the most ancient bells found in Britain is the same as may commonly be seen in the bells hung round the necks of bullocks and buffaloes in India and Ceylon.

[2] Deut. xviii. 9, 10, 11.

[3] See notice of these in the "Cyclopean Monuments of Palestine."

existed that the genii of certain localities, propitiated by due ceremonies and oblations, cured insanity. The most prominent of these rites were—using the water of certain fountains, a sunwise procession, and binding the maniac to a particular pillar. From this the patient was expected to be miraculously unloosed, and in that case was deemed to have been cured of his malady. Struthill, in the parish of Muthill, and Strathfillan, in the parish of Killin, were places where these ceremonies were practised.[1] In Ceylon a pillar near the venerated ruin of Mirisiwettiya, in the sacred but long since deserted and forest-covered city of Anuradapoora, was believed by the Cingalese to have the same properties as the stones at Struthill and Strathfillan. Although a Christian chapel at Strathfillan superseded the original stone, and Mirisiwettiya is a Buddhist monument erected B.C. 161, I believe the superstitious practices here alluded to were existing prior to Christianity in Britain or Buddhism in Ceylon.

In Scotland water drawn from certain fords of a river, with various ancient rites and ceremonies, and on a particular day, was used for sprinkling the people to preserve them from malignant influence for the rest of the year. A similar practice prevailed at various places in the interior of Ceylon, and at Kandy formed the concluding portion of a continuance of splendid ceremonies at one of the great festivals, when the priests of the four principal temples, sitting in ornamented canoes, on the water at the ferry of the river at Ganorooa,

[1] Sir J. Graham Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 88, 89. See also the chapter on the "Worship of Fountains and Rivers."

awaited the first appearance of dawn. Then with a golden sword the priests drew a circle in the water, and having filled their pitchers from within this magic ring, returned in procession to deposit the mystical water in their temples, and their pitchers also, to remain until the day of the full moon of July in the next year.

Under the head of "The Worship of Fountains" will be found proofs that the offerings were made of portions of clothing and pieces of money or metal, placed on the brink of the water, or hung on the branches of overhanging or surrounding trees; and that this practice is common to nations of Africa and Asia, as well as to the once Celtic portion of north-western Europe.

There is also the belief common to the nations of the East and of Western Europe that certain persons, by ceremonies performed at wells whose waters or its invisible guardians were possessed of occult powers, was sufficient to bring rain when the country around was parched by continued drought. St. Fillan's Well at Strowan is one of these where an early Celtic saint seems to have succeeded to the powers of heathen predecessors, and in popular belief could, if properly solicited, give rain whenever required by his superstitious votaries.[1]

In treating of the Druids particular reference has been made to a superstition which existed with them, and is not extinct in Britain even in the present day—viz. the amulets of various kinds which have received such names as adders' stones, serpents' eggs, serpents' gems, and Druids' beads,

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 19.

these last being generally small globes of glass in which not uncommonly appear spiral lines. These beads have been frequently discovered in ancient tumuli, and were probably derived by the Britons from Phœnician traders. At the same place will be found the marvellous details and belief regarding these objects being created by serpents. Although so many violent changes have swept over the land of Canaan, giving back the sites of its cities to the desert, and consigning the ancient Phœnician race and their records to oblivion, the wild fancies of a primeval superstition have been more enduring. Thus to a late traveller amidst the ruins of Tadmor an ancient crone detailed the combat which she said she had witnessed between two serpents. She then produced the prize for which they had fought, but which she secured. It proved to be a pearl.[1]

The Hindu believes that the souls of the departed hover restless and undefined around their former haunts until due ceremonies are performed, and that these can only be efficiently discharged by a son or male descendant. That the spirits of the unburied or unblessed are doomed to wander near the spot where their fate was accomplished or their crimes were consummated, was, and still is, a belief in Ireland and Scotland; and the superstitious observances practised in these countries by the childless, in hopes of progeny, may possibly have had their origin in some belief akin to that of the Hindus.[2]

[1] *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, by E. Beaufort, vol. i. pp. 390, 391.

[2] See further on this subject in the article on "Kistvaens and Perforated Stones."

INDEX.

Aber, a Gaelic word, 26, 27, 28.
Abellion, 104.
Aboo, Mount, 104, 311, 381.
Abudho-Deyio, Nameless God, 179.
Adam's Peak, Ceylon, 310, 504.
Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, by Dr. Reeves, 34, 35, 58, 66, 73, 74.
Addington, primitive monuments at, 247.
Adraste, the goddess, 97, 134.
Ædui, Celtic tribe, their senate, 58.
Africa, Phœnician settlements in, 47, 48.
Aglios, Mexican antiquities, 407.
Agricola, 64, 65.
Aidan, the first ordained king of the Scoto-Irish, 39, 40.
Aiguilon, 12.
Akerman's *Ancient Coins*, 391, 404, 427, 428, 434.
Alba, Albainn, Albany, 18, 24, 25, 40.
Albanach-Duan, early Celtic poem, 18.
Albannaich, Caledonians, 18, 19, 24, 25, 38.
Albion, 13, 18, 25, 40.
Albiones, 18.
Altar erected by Saul at Ajalon, 280.
Altars, 216, 217, 226, 276, 279.
„ Druidical, 93, 177, 178, 270, 271, 272, 273.
Ammianus, Marcellinus, 31, 41, 64.
Anait, Andate, goddess, 100, 101, 102, 103, 139.
Antoninus, Wall of, 20.
Anubis, 441, 442.
Apollo, 2, 3, 5, 7, 51, 97, 99, 110, 121, 257, 401.
Apollonius Rhodius, 311.
Ard, a height, Gaelic, 31, 32.
Argonautica, 12.
Aristotle, 13.
Armorica, 10, 57.
Artemis, Anatis, Tanath, 102, 103.
Arthur, King, palace and burying-place, 12.
Ashtoreth, Astarte, 51, 52, 97, 134, 135, 139, 172, 255.
Assyrian sculptures, 8.
Attacotti, the, 18, 33, 38, 41.
Atmospheric phenomena, worship of, 140, 141, 401, 414.
Aubray, John, 5.
„ *Miscellanies* of, 73, 137, 504.
Aurelian, 64.
Auld Wives' Lift at Craigmaddie, 288, 301, 302.
Avaricum, siege of, 55.
Avebury, ancient fane, 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 212, 231, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240.

Baal, 51, 104, 114, 116.
„ devoted to, 123.
Badonica, Via, 4.
Bætili, 260, 376, 377.
Bætulia, 254.
Balfour of Balfour, 338.
Bal or Bail, a place, Gaelic, 31, 32.
Balanton, fountain of, 12, 167.
Balerium, Cornwall, 53.
Bali, Baliya, planetary worship, 105, 108, 467.
Ball-play, 125, 126.
Ban-Druidth, Druidess, sorceress, 66.
Baniou, bagpipes of Armorica, 10.
Bards, 6, 70.
Barrows, 321, 468.
Barth's *Travels*, 443.

Bath, 4.
Battle of the Standard, 25.
Beckhampton, 4.
Bede, quoted, 6, 33, 42, 226, 490.
Beltane, Bel-tein, 115, 120, 121, 122, 155 ; ceremonies, 123, 124, 128, 131.
Bel, Belenus, Belinus, } objects of heathen worship, 3, 5, 51, 97, 99, 104, 109, 110, 111, 120, 127, 328.
Belic, Belich, } in Armorican and Cornish, a priest, 111.
Belinus, a British king, 6, 54.
Belgæ, 24.
Bells, 503, 504.
Belovesus, 111.
Belz, 111, 298.
Ben, a mountain, Irish and Gaelic, 30.
Berneray Island, 100, 101, 103.
Bethel, 254, 267.
Birnie, church of, 96.
Boadicea, Queen, 8, 88, 134.
Boar, the, 437.
Boired stanes, 300.
Boniface VIII., Pope, 499.
Borlase's *Cornwall*, 295, 296.
Borradth, sepulchral cairns, 329, 330.
Botallick circles, 214.
Brackenfern, 181.
Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, by Sir H. Ellis, 114, 125, 130, 139.
Brass, Bronze, } 60, 363.
Brigantes, 44, 45.
Britain, early notices of, 1, 2, 9, 18; number of its inhabitants, 19, 20.
Britannia, Gibson's, 151, 208.
Britannic Isles, 13.
British Celts, 22, 28.
Britons, 18, 24, 28.
Brocelinde, forest of, 12, 167.
Broichan, the Druid, 34, 66, 74, 307.
Brudeus, a Pictish king, 34 ; fortress of, near the Ness river, 34.
Buddha, Gautama, 105, 106, 173, 175, 310.
Buddhism, 251.
Buddhist ritual and ceremonies, 118, 119, 173.
„ architecture, 117, 252.
Bull, the, 435-7.

Cadiz, Gadir, 59.
Caedmon, 6.
Cæsar, Julius, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 19, 53, 55, 57, 64, 71, 72, 78, 99, 108, 281.
Cailleach Vear, 141, 142.
Cairns, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 468, 469.
Caledonia, 18, 21, 22, 25, 40.
„ population of, 19, 20, 44, 370.
Caledonia, Chalmers', 33, 53, 54, 55.
Caledonian hieroglyphics, 37, etc. etc. *See* Hieroglyphical.
Caledonia Romana, 98, 105, 153.
Caledonians, 18, 20, 25, 32, 64, 65.
Callernish, 247, 248.
Calligray, island of, 100, 101.
Camel, the, 447.
Canaanites, monuments of the, 189.
Capricorn, the, 440.
Carnac, primitive monuments of, 191, 232.
Carnach, Gaelic, a Druid, a priest, 321-324.
Carn-fires, 127.
Carthaginians, 13, 47, 50, 56, 57.
Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, 44, 45.
Cassibelan, Cassibellaunus, 54.
Cassiterides, the, 13.
„ by G. Smith, LL.D., 49.
Castle-Rigg, Cumberland, 244.
Cats, 90, 91, 92 ; sacrifice of, 90.
Cat-stanes, 268.
Celtic fleet, 57, 58.
„ fortresses, 343, 344, 345, 346.
„ language, 18, 26, 31.
„ senates, 58.
„ alphabets, 390, 391.
„ town, 346.
„ traditions, 17, 18.
Celts, the, 7, 18, 273.
„ their valuable ornaments, 7, 9.
„ in Italy, 9, 24.
„ in Spain, 49, 50.
„ in Lusitania, 434.
Centaur, 442, 443.
Ceylon, 49, 154, 310, 323, 410, 489, 490.
„ sacred tree in, 174, 175.
Chambered tumuli, 287, 331-341.
Chambers's *Annals of Scotland*, 8.
Cingalese cosmogony, 176.
Circular fanes, 22, 23. *See* Cromlechs.
Clachan, the stones, the church, Gaelic word, 220, 221.
Classernish, monument at, 20, 202, 247.
Claudius, the Emperor, 63, 65.
Cocks, sacrifice of, 86, 107, 108, 462, 498, 499.

Coit, 187, 188.
Coifi, heathen priest, 225.
Colossus, 260.
Comb, the, 430-432 ; also in description of Plate I.
Confessional of Ecgbert, 113.
Coracles, Curach, wicker boats, 38, 58.
Cornouaille, Cornwall in Brittany, 11, 12.
Craigmaddie, Auld Wives' Lift, 288, 301, 302, 505.
Craig-Phadric, Pictish fortress, 34.
Crannoges, lake dwellings, 350, 351.
Crescent and sceptre, 402-427.
Crom-leaca, Clach-shleuchda, stones of worship, 317.
Cromlechs, circular fanes, 185, 186,
„ 207-248, 469; number of the columns in, 463.
„ used as places of Christian worship, 220-225.
„ used for courts of justice, 228, 229.
„ used for Celtic councils, 230.
„ in various countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, 455-481.
Cruithne, Picts, 37, 38, 40, 41.
Culloden, battle of, 19.
Cunetio, Roman station on the Kemet river, 3.
Cunobelin, British king, 6, 54.
Cybele of Pessinus, 260.
Customs and superstitions similar in Central Asia and Britain, 482-508.
Cyclopean monuments, 3, 4, 10, 20, 59, 184-206, 457-481.
Cyrus, tomb of, 8.

Dagon, Phœnician deity, represented by a monster fish, 426.
Dalriada, in Ireland and Scotland, 39, 40.
Dalriads, Irish and Scotch, 39.
Dalyell's, Sir J. G., *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, 73, 77, 79, 83, 84, 136, 149, 168, 507.
Davies's, Dr., *Researches in Carthage*, 103, 181.
Deir, Book of, early Celtic manuscript, 19, 25.
Deisiol, or Deasil, sunways movement, 72, 132, 133, 156, 163, 169, 257, 324.
Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 442, 443.
Derceto, the Phœnician goddess, represented by a fish with a woman's face, 426, 430.
Dido, 54.
Dinnacair, rock and sculptured monuments at, 199, 200.
Diocletian, the Emperor, 64.
Diodorus Siculus, quoted, 1, 2, 6, 9, 13, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 71, 72, 353.
Dion Cassius, 6, 8.
Dis, heathen deity, 97, 413.
Divitiacus the Druid, 70.
Dog's head, the, 441, 442.
Dolmens, table-stones, 186, 209, 210, 214, 270, 271, 273, 275-289, 469.
„ of peculiar form, 274, 275, 284, 285.
„ over fountains, 278.
Dolmen at Antiquera, Spain, 286.
„ at Kilternan, 277.
„ at Loc-Maria-Ker, 281, 282, 283.
„ at Saumur, 286.
Double disc and sceptre, 402-407.
Dowth, tumulus of, 237.
Druid, Gaelic, used for circle, 209.
„ beads, 74, 363.
„ circles, 186, 209.
Druidism, 251.
Druids, 2, 6, 8, 9, 44, 50, 59, 63, 64-80, 99, 157, 178, 215, 230, 401.
„ their dress, 73.
„ their religion in Gaul and Britain identical, 10.
„ their sacrifices of men and animals, 71, 171, 230, 485.
„ in writing, used Greek characters, 6, 9, 71.
„ and Phœnicians, their religious coincidences, 50, 51, 52, 53.
Druidesses, 64, 66, 90, 92, 93, 144, 263, 272.

East, pre-eminence of, 116, 117, 119.
Earth-fast stones, 137, 269, 274, 450.
Ecgbert, *Confessional* of, 113.
Ebenezer-stone at Mispeh, 267.
Eirc, sons of, 39.
Elder-tree, 171, 180.
Elephant, the, 415-417.
Elm, wych-elm, 171.
Elorn, river in Brittany, 12.
Emchatus the Pict, 34.

Epiphanius, 214.
Eratosthenes, 14.
Ethelbert, King, 215.
Ethereal fire, 141, 143.
Etruscan tombs, torques found in, 9.
Evans's *North Wales*, 85, 95.
Evelyn's *Silva*, 180, 181, 295.
Excommunication by the Druids, 70.
Exports from Britain, 60, 389.
Exposing children on house-tops, 113.
Ezion-Geber, port of, 14.

Farrar, J., Esq., 203, 338.
Fastern's Even, ancient customs on, 125, 127.
Fasting against and cursing individuals, 492.
Ficus religiosa, 175.
Fiery cross, 497.
Fire-altars, 105, 402, 417-420.
„ worship of, 111, 114.
„ passing through the, 60, 113, 115, 120, 130.
Fish, worship of, 426-430.
Flannan Isles, 132.
Footsteps, sacred, 309, 310, 311.
Foresters, Sardinian, 60, 114, 174.
Fortunate Isles, the, 17.
Fountain of St. Melars, 158.
„ near Baud, 158.
„ of St. Anne of Auray, 158.
„ at Kirk-Oswald, 159.
„ of Balanton, 167.
Fountains dedicated to the sun, 154, 155.
„ worship of, condemned, 157.
„ demon of, exorcised, 157.
„ held sacred by Druids, 157.
„ divination at, 165.
„ worship of, 74, 120, 142, 143, 144, 155, 157.
Fowlis, Lady, trial of, 79.
Fremenville, *Antiquities of the Morbihan*, 94, 95, 143, 258, 275, 449.
Fremenville, *Antiquities of Finisterre*, 95, 155, 158, 262, 270.
Funeral rites of Celts, Indians, and Greeks, 327.
Funeral wails, 54.

Gadeira, Gadir, Cadiz, 49, 59, 427, 428.
Gaelic the language of the Caledonians, 26, 34.
Gaelic, elements of, in the Latin language, 24.
Gaels, 22, 24.
„ of Caledonia, Albannaich, 25.
Galgals, 187, 286.
Ganges, River, 154.
Gaul, 2, 9.
Gauls, the, 6, 8, 9.
„ their religion and language, 9.
Gavr-Innis, 331, 332, 333, 334, 337.
Germanus, 490.
Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, 52, 65.
Gildas, 42, 97, 98, 119, 155.
Gilgal, 217, 218, 228.
Godmundingham, 225.
Gold found in Scotland, 8.
„ ornaments of the Celts, 8, 9.
Goose, the, 86, 87, 89, 90.
Gray-stone, the, 298.
Greek letters, 2, 3, 6, 9.
„ used by the Druids, 6, 71, 389, 390.
Grian or Greine, the sun, 102, 121, 277.
Grianan, the House of the Sun, 121, 142, 143, 277.
Groves, sacred, 3, 177, 272.
„ the, 135.
Gruagach, the Fair-haired, the sun, 121, 257.
Gruagach stones, 121, 122.
Gudeman's croft, 151, 152, 160.
Gypsies, the, 16.

Hadrian, Wall of, 20.
Haer cairns, 253.
Hare-stanes, 253.
Hag-stone, 300.
Hare, the, 86, 87, 88, 500, 501.
Harp, the, 6, 448.
Hawk, 443, 444.
Heathenism, late, 84-86, 295, 299, 302.
Hebrides, the, 20.
Hecatæus, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 192.
Heligoland, 2.
Heliogabulus, the Emperor, 51.
„ the idol, 254, 255.
Heli, Helios, } the sun, 50, 108, 112, 412.
Hercules, Pillars of, 13, 48.
„ the Tyrian, 52.
Hermon, Mount, 216, 218.
Herodotus, 13, 14, 154.
Hesius, Celtic deity, 100.

Hieroglyphical boar, 437.
„ bull, 435, 436, 437.
„ camel, 447.
„ centaur, 442, 443.
„ comb, etc., 430-432.
„ crescent and sceptre, 402-407.
„ dog's head, 441, 442.
„ double disc and sceptre, 397-402.
„ elephant, 415-417.
„ fire-altar, 402, 417-420.
„ fish, 426-430.
„ harp, 6, 448.
„ hawk, 443, 444.
„ hippocampus, 439.
„ horse, 432, 435.
„ horse-shoe arch, 422-425.
„ human figure with a bird's head, 438.
„ human figure with a dog's head, 441, 442.
„ mirror, 430, 431, 432.
„ sculptures of Northumberland, 448, 449, 450.
„ serpent and sceptre, 402, 407-415.
„ sword, 444, 445.
„ triangle, 447.
„ sculptures, 396-450. *See* also description of the Plates.
Higgins's *Celtic Druids*, 121, 212.
Hippocampus, 439.
Holy Sepulchre, extraordinary ceremony there, 302.
Homer, 14, 231.
Hone's *Every-Day Book*, 85, 113, 124.
Horses, sacrifice of, 128, 432, 433, 434, 435.
Horse-shoe arch, 422-425.
House-tops, exposing children on, 113, 114.
Human figure with dog's head, 441, 442.
Human figure with bird's head, 438.
Hyperboreans, 2.

Iberia, Spain, 47.
Iceni, the, 44.
Ierne, 13, 40.
Iernian Isles, 12.
Imports into Britain, 60.
Indus, river, 154.
Innes, Cosmo, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, 143.
„ „ *Early Scottish History*, 26.
„ Thomas, *Ecclesiastical History*, 74, 150.
Inscriptions, alphabetical, 383-396.
Inver or Inner, Celtic word, 27, 28.
Islands of the Blessed, 17.
Isle de Groach, 93, 263.
Isle de Sen, 90, 92, 144, 263.

Jews, primitive monuments of, 189, 211, 216, 217, 250, 254, 280, 323, 496, 505.
Jet ornaments found in ancient Caledonian graves, 363.
Ja, } light, Sanscrit and Cingalese,
Jwala, } 112.
Joan of Arc, 163, 172.
Job, 496.
Josephus, Fl., *Antiquities of the Jews*, 189, 267.

Karli, rock-cut temples of, 117, 212, 457, 458.
Keltoi, 48.
Ken or Kin, Ceann or Cinn, Gaelic word, 31.
Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, 48, 49, 50, 51, 59, 73, 125, 134, 179, 255.
Kerloaz, menhir of, 261, 262, 265, 266.
„ ancient ceremonies at, 262.
Kimmerians, 48.
King's *Monumenta Antiqua*, 56, 212, 354.
Kistvaens, 187, 271, 289, 290, 291.
„ in Circassia, 291.
„ in Cornwall, 291.
„ in India, 291, 469.
Kit's-Coty-House, 187, 246, 275, 443.
Kyteler, Dame Alice, 107, 172, 498, 499.

Lakes, sacred, 169.
La Marmora's *Sardinia*, 61, 349.
Laoghaire, King, idols of, 141, 256.
Lares and Penates, 49.
Latham's *Ethnology*, 22, 24, 403.
Launcelot du Lac, 12.
Legends, Celtic, 17, 18.
Lewes, primitive monuments in, 20.
Lia-Fail, Stone of Destiny, 23, 303-308.

Libations of milk on hills and stones, 121, 299.
Light, worship of, 104, 105, 111, 112, 113, 119, 466, 467.
Lionais or Lionesse, submerged district of, 10, 11, 12.
Llan, British-Celtic word, 31.
Loch Siant, 169, 171.
„ Dowloch, 169.
„ Maree, 436.
Long Meg and her Daughters, stone circle, 244.
Lorica, Hymn of St. Patrick, 141.
„ „ of St. Columba, 141.
Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 50, 51, 100, 272.
Lulach's Stone, 268.
Lusitanians, 434.
Lyell's, Sir C., *Antiquities of Man*, 21, 88.
Lyre, the, 2, 5, 6,

Madoc, 12.
Maeshow, 203, 242, 331-340.
Magi, Druids, 66, 68, 108, 401, 471.
Magical stones and amulets, 74-77.
Mahawanso, The, of G. Turnour, 118.
Maiden castles, 356.
Makcalzane, Ewfame, 84, 89, 300.
Malcolm Canmore, grant by, 26, 30.
Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, 102.
Martin's *Western Isles*, 130, 132, 136, 163, 168, 169, 171, 424.
Max Müller's *Ancient Sanscrit Literature*, 111, 433, 484.
Menhirs, long stones, upright stones, 138, 187, 249, 250, 252, 253, 256.
„ emblems of a deity, 249, 250.
„ great, at Loc-Maria-Kerr, 258, 259.
„ of Kerloaz, 261, 262, 266.
Merlin, 12, 241, 308.
Merlin's Stone, 167.
Middleton's, Dr. Conyers, *Letters from Rome*, 113.
Midsummer Eve, 120.
„ ceremonies on, 130, 131, 155.
Migrations of European nations, 15, 16, 23, 452, 453, 454.
Mines, 55.
„ ancient tools found in, 14.
Mirrors, 430-432 ; also in description of Plate I.
Misletoe, the, 68, 69, 72, 171, 288, 404.
Mitchell, Dr., 86, 224, 299.
Mithras, worship of, 172, 410, 436.
Mod or Moat, 230, 236.
„ „ hills, 355, 356.
Moloch, 116.
Mona, Anglesea, 20, 63.
Monro, Hector, Baron of Fowlis, trial of, 79-83.
Montfort, Lords of, 167.
Monuments, primitive, 190, 183-206, 451-481.
„ legends concerning, 190, 191.
„ ancient names of, 192, 193.
„ in the Dekhan of India, 195, 214, 457-469.
„ in Palestine, 212, 472, 473.
„ in Syria, 214, 472.
„ in Persia and Media, 470, 471, 472.
„ in Phœnicia, 473, 474.
„ in Circassia, 474.
„ at Troy, 475.
„ in Africa, 475-478.
„ in Malta, 475.
„ in Tunis, 475.
„ in Italy, 478.
„ in Spain, 479.
„ in Gaul, 480.
„ in the Channel Islands, 481.
„ in Britain and Ireland, 481.
„ in Arabia, in description of Plate XIX.
Moon, worship of the, 113, 134-139, 403-407.
Morbihan Sea and district, 4, 232, 281, 331.
Moses, tin in the time of, 13.
„ erects primitive monuments on Mount Sinai, 216.
Mountain-ash. *See* Rowan-tree.

Namneti, the, 57.
Nania, the goddess, 102, 134.
Nennius, 6, 42, 54, 150.
New Grange, chambered tumulus, 331-336.
Newman's *Regal Rome*, 24, 403.
Newton stone and its inscriptions, 383-388.
Niebuhr's *Ethnography*, 24, 48.
Norden's *Cornwall*, 10, 14.

Notre Dame de la Haine, 96.
„ de la Clarte, „ de la Joie, „ de la Liesse, } 95,158, 264.
Nobletz, Michael, 264, 265, 313.
Nuraghés of Sardinia, 60, 61, 349.

Oak, the, 68, 170, 171, 172.
„ worship of, 170, 171.
„ of Dodona, 181.
Omanus, Persian deity, 101.
Oran. *See* Saint Oran.
Ordeal by fire and water, 116, 491.
Ordovices, the, 44.
Ouranos, 97, 417.
Overton, approach to Avebury, 4, 238.
Ovid, 72, 100, 409, 426.

Pagan festivals, Christian holidays, 113, 120, 125.
Palestine, 13, 472.
Palgrave's, W. G., *Arabia*, in description of Plate XIX.
Parsees, 105.
Passing cattle through the fire, 115.
Passing children through the fire, 113, 115.
„ „ through holes in the earth, 294, 295.
„ „ through a cheese, 294, 295.
„ „ through clefts of a tree, 294, 295.
„ „ through holes in stones, 295, 298.
„ „ through hoops of woodbine, 294, 295.
Peann-Fahel, Pictish words, 35.
Pen, a British-Celtic word, 31, 35, 36.
Penitential of Theodore, 113.
Pennant's *Tours*, 54, 88, 114, 120, 121, 123, 151.
Perforated stones, 293-300.
Persians, their objects of worship, 108, 154, 162, 163, 401, 418, 471.
Persian Magi, 108, 401, 433, 471, 489.
Petrie's, Dr., *Round Towers of Ireland*, 120, 304.
Phœnicians, the, 3, 12, 13, 14, 23, 37, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 94, 134, 362, 363, 372, 376, 388, 389, 390.
Phœnician inscriptions, 392, 393, 394, 395.
„ priests, 59, 73.
„ religion, 51.
„ rites, 114.
Picts, the, 18, 22, 26, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 149, 376.
Pictish language, 33, 34, 35, 36.
„ capital, 34, 35.
Picts' houses, 61, 347, 348, 349.
Picts of Ireland, Cruithne, 37, 38, 40, 41.
Picts and Scots, 41, 42.
Pillar-stone of Tara, 303, 304, 305.
Pinkerton's *Historical Inquiry*, 45, 52.
Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, 73, 82, 83, 84, 87, 91, etc.
Planetary worship, 108, 109, 121-139, 397-443.
Pliny, 59, 66, 72, 75, 77, 108, 171, 433.
Polybius, 13, 49, 56.
Pomponius Mela, 6, 71, 108, 488.
Prehistoric inhabitants of Britain, 19, 21.
Primitive monuments, 183-206. *See* also Cromlechs, Cairns, Barrows, Dolmens, Inaugural Stones, Kistvaens, Menhirs, Perforated Stones, Rocking Stones, Sculptured Stones, Weems, and Monuments.
Procopius, Celtic legend, 17.
Publius Crassus, first Roman who reached Britain, 13.

Quiberon, Bay of, 4, 281.
Quintus Curtius, 154.
Quirinus, Sabine deity, 403.

Rain, ceremonies for, 166, 167, 168.
Rámáyan, Carey's translation, 291, 433.
Redwald's, King, place of worship, 226.
Reeves' *Life of Saint Columba*, 29, 34, 35, 133, 141, 168.
Religion of Britain, 63-182. *See* also Menhirs.
Rhodes, the worship of the sun at, 50.
Rivers, worship of, 169.
Roads in Britain noticed by Cæsar, 53, 55.
Robertson, Joseph, LL.D., 19, 36.
„ „ *Antiquities of Aberdeenshire*, 30, 43, 60, 162, 219.

Rock-basins, 358.
Rocking stones, 311-315.
Roll-rich stones, 245.
Romans, the, 4, 13, 20, 41, 42, 43, 56, 65, 369, 370.
Ross, Catherine, Lady Fowlis, 79-82.
Rowan-tree, 81, 171, 180.
Rudston, the, 258.

Sabians, 107.
Sabine language, 403.
Sacrifice of one man to save another, 78-83.
Sacrifice of human beings, 71, 171, 485, 487.
Sacrifice of cattle, and late instances of, 84-86, 224, 229, 404, 436, 446, 447.
Saint Ælian's church and well, 96.
„ Augustine, 215, 224.
„ Cainich, Irish Pict, 34.
„ Cedo, 298, 299.
„ Columba, 34, 65, 66, 69, 74, 150, 305, 306, 307.
„ Comgall, 34.
„ Declan's rock, 289, 301, 302, 505.
„ Gildas, 281. *See* also Gildas.
„ Gildas-de-Rhuis, promontory of, 18.
„ Gurlot, 299.
„ Jerome, 33.
„ Marnan's head, a relic, 77.
„ Oran, 149, 150, 151.
„ Patrick, 66, 69, 72, 73, 141, 256.
„ Radegonde, 311.
„ Ruadan's curse, 306.
„ Vigeans, extraordinary superstitions there, 146, 147.
Salago, a plant, 72.
Sale's *Koran*, 107, 255.
Sammes' *Britannia Antiqua*, 52, 400.
Sardinia, heathen rites in, 59, 60.
„ nuraghés of, 60, 61.
Saul erects primitive altar, 280.
Saxons, the, 43.
Scandinavians, 43, 203.
Scotia, Ireland, 40.
Scotland, name of, 18, 40.
Scots, 18, 19, 41.
„ of Caledonia, 26, 33, 38, 39, 40, 42.
„ of Dalriada, 26, 38, 39, 40.
„ and Picts, 34, 38, 40, 41.
Sculptures in chambered tumuli, 287, 332, 333, 335, 336, 340.
Sculptured figures on Caledonian monuments, 359-382, 397-450. *See* also description of plates and hieroglyphical figures. Antiquity of, 185, 186, 196-203, 219, 220.
Sculptures of Northumberland, 448, 449, 450.
Seamrag, the shamrock, 73.
Selden, 17, 19, 63, 149.
Sena, Ile-de-Sen, Druidesses of, 90, 92, 144, 263.
Serpent-gem, 61, 74, 75, 77, 409, 508.
„ worship of the, 105, 131, 407-414.
„ and sceptre, 402, 407-415.
Seth, pillars of, 267.
Shap, Heppe, in Cumberland, 246.
Shargar stone, 161, 302.
Shaw's *History of Moray*, 127, 133.
Siant, Loch, 169, 171.
Silbury Hill, 4, 206, 235, 237, 355.
Silures, the, 44, 45.
Simpson, Professor J. Y., 86, 449.
Sinai, Mount, 216.
Sinhinny cromlech, 215.
Skene's *Highlands of Scotland*, etc., 33, 34.
Slew, or Sliabh, Gaelic word, a heathland, 28, 29, 30.
Solomon, fleets of, 14.
Sorbiodunum, Old Sarum, 3.
Soule, 126.
Souvestre's *Derniers Bretons*, 12, 17, 24, 95, 126, 130, 155, 159, 167, 270.
Spain, early Phœnician settlements in, 14, 49.
Spencer, Edmund, *Dialogues from Ireland*, 114.
Spirit of ethereal fire, 141, 143.
„ of the earth, 149, 150, 151, 152; earth goddess, 495, 496.
„ of the waters, 144-149.
Spirits, local and inferior, 124, 152.
Standard, battle of the, 19.
Stanton-Drew, 243.
Stennis, 203, 204, 242, 295, 296, 297.
Stone of Destiny, 23, 303-308.
Stonehenge, 3, 23, 194, 237-241, 246.
Stone of Odin, 297, 298, 320.
Stones of ordeal, 313, 314.
Stone worship, 254, 255, 256, 257, 277, 317-320. *See* also Menhirs.

Strabo, 3, 8, 9, 13, 48, 49, 56, 57, 60, 71, 100, 101, 121, 139.
Stuart, J., *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, 219.
Stukeley's *Avebury*, 5, 235.
Sun-god, the, 105.
Sunken Kirk, 148.
Sun-worship, 111, 113, 155. *See* also Bel, Baal, Beltane.
Superstitions and customs similar in Central Asia and Britain, 482-508.
Sword, 444, 445.
Syria, 1, 3.

Tacitus, 3, 8, 10, 45, 54, 64, 93, 272.
Tadmor, 61, 508,
Tan, tein, teindh, tin, Celtic fire, 113, 115, 120, 122, 128.
Tanath, a deity, 103.
Tara, 303-307.
Taranis, Celtic deity, 100.
Tarseius, Tarshish, Tartessus, } Phœnician settlements, 13, 14, 47, 49, 56.
Tate's, George, Esq., F.G.S., *Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland*, 448, 449, 450.
Teak-wood, extraordinary durability of, 117, 118.
Temples near and on Mount Aboo, 104, 381.
„ at Adjunta, 212.
„ at Aluawiharé, 212.
„ of Annait, 100.
„ at Ascalon, 426.
„ of Didymean Apollo, 99.
„ of Apollo at Carthage, 51.
„ of Apollo Leucatas, 3, 99.
„ at Dambool, 212.
„ at Ellora, 212.
„ at Karli, 117, 212.
„ at Kenneri, 212.
„ of Saturn at Cadiz, 47, 59.
„ at Walkeshwar, Bombay, 289, 301.
Tennent's, Sir J. E., *Ceylon*, 87.
Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, 66, 114, 135, 136, 138, 155, 171, 257, 294.
Thomson, A., Esq., 199, 384.
Thunder axes, 14.
Tiberius, the Emperor, 63, 65.
Tillie Beltane, 122.
Timber, duration of, 117, 118.
Tin, 12, 13, 14, 48, 49, 54.
Tin-egin, fire by friction, 129, 133.
Tod, Dr., *Life of St. Patrick*, 7, 141, 256.
Tod, Colonel, *Annals of Rajasthan*, 105.
Toland's *History of the Druids*, 2, 115, 304.
Tolmen, 187, 289.
Torques, 7, 8.
Trees, worship of, 170, 171, 173, 175, 176.
Trevelyans, 11.
Trevethy kistvaen, 291, 292.
Triangle, 447.
Tumuli, 213, 216, 237, 282, 287.
„ chambered, 331-336, 341, 501 502, 503.
Turner's *History of Anglo-Saxons*, 48.
Tutates, Celtic deity, 95, 97, 100.
Tyndale's *Sardinia*, 61.
Tyre, 14, 97, 125, 134, 474.
Tyrians, 49, 51.
Tytler's, P. F., *History of Scotland*, 26.

Udayapoor, city of, 105.
Urania, Venus, 97.

Valentia, Roman province of, 41, 42.
Varuna, 97, 416, 417.
Vedas, the *Rig Veda*, 111, 160, 410, 432, 452.
Veneti, the, 4, 47, 57, 58, 204, 205, 363, 281, 395.
„ ships of the, 57, 58.
Venus, 405.
Venus of Paphos, 260.
„ of the Phœnicians, 94, 255, 405, 426.
„ of Quinipili, 93, 94, 265.
Vervain, 72, 73.
Vestiges of early races, 21.
Via Badonica, 4, 206.
Violeau, Hippolyte, *Pelerinages*, 159, 167.
Vital, worship of, 214, 464.
Vitrified forts or sites, 343, 344, 345.
Vitucadrus, Celtic deity, 97.
Viviane, 167.
Vivyans, 11.

Waggons, war-chariots of the Britons and Caledonians, 54, 55.
Wakeman's *Archæologia Hibernica*, 277, 399.

Walkeshwar temples, island of Bombay, 289, 301, 505.
Wallace's *Orkney Islands*, 296.
Water-fiend, 144, 145, 146, 438.
Wayland Smith's forge, primitive monument, 247.
Weems, subterraneous chambers, 351-354.
Weld's *Vacation in Brittany*, 94, 299.
Well-worship, 156, 157, 158, 159, 299.
„ „ in Persia, 163.
„ of St. Ælian, 96.
„ of St. Fillan, 156, 162, 167, 506.
„ of Shadar, 164.
„ of St. Paul at Jackston, 161.
„ demon of a, exorcised by St. Columba, 157.
Wells, ceremonies at, 156, 161, 162, 164, 169.
„ Christianised, 157.
„ where the insane were cured, 168.
„ in India, and Ceylon, and Persia, offerings at, 163.
Western Isles, early population of, 20.
Widdershins, movement contrary to the sun's apparent course, 131, 132.
Wilkinson, Sir Gardiner, 97, 311, 448.
Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, 7, 20, 21, 52, 76, 204, 225.
Witches, 66, 73, 79, 80, 82.
Witchcraft, 77, 78, 81, 491.
Wolf of Badenoch, 229.
Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 97, 105.
„ *Superstitions of England*, 155, 264.
„ *Sorcery and Magic*, 172.

Ys, submerged city of, 11, 12.
Yeul, 112, 113, 120.
„ Christmas, 113.
„ feast, 113.
„ log, 113.
Yseult-la-Blonde, 12.

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